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13 December 1979

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

(FOUO 16/79)



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USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS  
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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK DESCRIBES U.S. SECRET ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Moscow TAYNAYA VOYNA IMPERIALIZMA SSHA V LATINSKOY AMERIKE (The Secret War of U.S. Imperialism in Latin America) in Russian 1978 signed to press 23 Jun 78 pp 1-5, 211-216

[Annotation, introduction and table of contents from book by K. S. Tarasov, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 216 pages, 50,000 copies]

[Text] In this book K. S. Tarasov, doctor of economic sciences, exposes the subversive activities of U.S. imperialism in the Latin American countries, activities which are aimed at suppression of the liberation movement of the continent's peoples against the domination of foreign monopolies, a movement which aims at true independence and progressive development.

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Introduction	

The Latin American continent continues to seethe. More and more of the working masses of South and Central America are joining the struggle against the domination and arbitrary will exerted by the USA on the continent, a struggle which is being waged for national development and the complete independence of these countries, as well as for the elimination of reactionary, fascist and tyrannical regimes. Marching in the vanguard of the fighters are communists, who demand the implementation of profound social transformations intended to put an end to poverty, the lack of rights, backwardness, hunger and mass illiteracy. The high goal of leading the peoples of this region of the world onto the broad path of social progress was announced by the communist parties of the Latin American and Caribbean countries at their conference in Havana in June 1975.

The attractive force of real socialism and the success of revolutionary Cuba inspire the peoples of Latin America in their own difficult struggle.

Under the cover of demagogic slogans about their own "selfless concern" for the strengthening of the national sovereignty of the Latin America countries, the imperialist forces of the USA are attempting to halt the process of social development in these countries and to preserve the control which these forces have over the economies and politics in these countries. In violation of the UN Charter and of international agreements and treaties, the U.S. imperialists, who view the Latin American continent as their raw material base and their strategic rear, interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states and make use of the local reaction in their efforts to impose by any and all means their will on

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those regimes which are prepared to serve Washington's interests. The numerous intelligence services of the USA have a special role to play in this process.<sup>1</sup>

As the data cited in this book confirm, the Central Intelligence Agency and other similar organizations unleashed on an enormous scale subversive activity in the Latin American countries, weaving the threads of anti-popular conspiracies and organizing coups d'etat and the murder of state and political figures that they did not like.

In the summer of 1977 F. Castro said: "The imperialists and the CIA use the most varied methods ranging from direct diversions to incitement. They resort to indirect methods in order to force all the mercenaries, whom they have instructed and trained to act. In some cases they use other governments for their own purposes, for example, the rulers of Nicaragua, Chile and other puppets. Directly or indirectly the American Central Intelligence Agency encouraged and armed dozens of counterrevolutionary groups whose main goal was to murder revolutionary leaders."<sup>2</sup>

The U.S. intelligence community is an organic part of the military-industrial complex, and its interests are interwoven in the closest possible way with the interests of the major military-industrial monopolies. This means that when this community carries out secret operations in Latin America, it has the support of all the divisions of these monopolies which are active in this region. These divisions willingly put enormous financial resources at the disposal of the community; they use their own links with local business circles and their own intelligence network, and at the same time they participate actively in subversive activities against governments which Washington finds objectionable.

The book is based on materials published in the foreign press, on documents of the Latin American communist parties, and on materials issued by U.S. Congressional investigating committees concerned with the activities of American intelligence services. The facts show how high handedly the emissaries of the "cloak and dagger" agency act. They raze to the ground the thoroughly false verbiage of U.S. imperialist propaganda on the subject of Washington's respect for "human rights," the "sovereignty of nations," "freedom," etc.

1. The U.S. intelligence community includes more than 20 secret services. The following agencies have an especially far-flung and active secret-service network in Latin America: the Central Intelligence Agency, (CIA), the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Division of Information and Research of the State Department, the Intelligence Agency of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the intelligence services of the U.S. Air Force and Marines, as well as a number of others.

2. ZA RUBEZHOM, 1977, No 23 p 7.

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The book is written in the form of essays, and this determines to a certain degree its structure as well. The first two chapters contain an examination of the nature, goals and basic trends in the secret war conducted by U.S. imperialism against the Latin American countries. The subsequent chapters contain information on the subversive actions against Cuba, Bolivia and Chile, which have become an object of particularly energetic criminal activity on the part of imperialism.

Conclusion:

In the late fifties and early sixties American imperialism unleashed a secret war against the liberation movement of the Latin American peoples. It was a reaction by the U.S. ruling circles (and primarily of all the forces which were united around the military-industrial complex) to the appearance in the Western Hemisphere of the first socialist state--Cuba--and the general rise of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Latin American people.

President Kennedy attempted to combine in his Latin American policy "hard" (military-political) and "soft" (economic) methods in order to preserve or restore an "order" agreeable to U.S. monopoly capital. The military-industrial complex, the Pentagon and the U.S. intelligence community advocated the direct use of military force as the main instrument of American foreign policy in Latin America. Under pressure from them, the "liberal" ideas of Kennedy with regard to Latin America were "frozen" and after his death they were completely rejected.

Since the mid-sixties there has been a tendency for U.S. imperialism to make a broad counterattack against the forces of democracy and socialism and for the establishment in the countries of this region of regimes which are capable of suppressing the movements which threaten imperialism's political, economic and military interests. In the early seventies the actions of U.S. imperialism in Latin America which are being carried out under the false slogan of the struggle against the "communist threat," are increasing still further.

Having made the secret war a very important element in the struggle against the revolutionary forces, American imperialism extends assistance and support to all those who oppose a radical solution to the socio-economic problems facing this region. It is natural that a particular role has been given to the U.S. secret services, and especially to the CIA, which uses methods of terror, blackmail, bribery and conspiracy. The Argentinian newspaper CALLE correctly notes: "We should not forget the very obvious fact that behind all the subversive activities, from the assassinations and the psychological campaign of intimidation, the artificial provocation of supply shortages to conspiracy in governmental circles, stands the CIA." The communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, which gathered for a conference in Havana in June 1975, stated that American imperialism "resorts to new, ever more refined methods" and "and is.. the main and common enemy..." Its



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secret services are beginning to carry out a new strategic plan (under the name of South Cone) for creating Latin American zones made up entirely of reactionary military regimes; the purpose is to oppose in every possible way the anti-imperialist tendencies in the politics of Peru, Venezuela and a number of other countries. American imperialism is carrying out secret operations in Central American countries as well, including the organization of conspiracies against the governments of Panama and Costa Rica. In short, an escalation--planned by Washington--of counterrevolution is taking place.

Despite the opposition of a number of countries in this region, especially of Peru and Mexico, the USA continues to use the military-political mechanism of the Organization of American States to preserve and strengthen its positions on the continent. The results of the latest inter-American military conferences have shown that once again they were used to examine measures to strengthen the cooperation between the armed forces of the OAS member nations for purposes of eliminating "subversive communist activity" and of eradicating "Marxism" in this region; recommendations were adopted on the subject of increasing the effectiveness of inter-American military organs. There has recently been an increase in the efforts to create an anticommunist, military-political alliance of the dictatorial regimes in South America.

In carrying out a policy of escalating counterrevolution in Latin America, Washington stubbornly refuses to understand the main point, which is that the situation on the continent has changed substantially, that the Latin American peoples cannot and do not wish to live in the old way and that increasing their exploitation and the ever increasing infringement of their political rights and freedoms only strengthens the revolutionary situation in the region.

As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, noted: "The revolution is fed by this very activity and by the intolerable conditions of life in which the peoples are placed. It is here that revolution has its deepest and most ineradicable roots. And any attempt to block the road of progress and to suppress the aspiration for freedom through the use of terror and repression can only strengthen the resentment of the popular masses."<sup>1</sup> And, in closing this work, we would like to recall the brilliant words of Comrade L.I. Brezhnev: "As for Latin America, we are confident that its historical prospects are inseparable from the development of all humanity; and these prospects are for freedom, independence and social progress."<sup>2</sup>

1. L.I. Brezhnev. "Leninskim kursom" /By Leninist Policy. Speeches and Articles/, Vol 4, p 406

2. L.I. Brezhnev. "Leninskim kursom" /By Leninist Policy. Speeches and Articles/, Vol 4, p 406.

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NATIONAL

ATHEISM AND INTERNATIONALISM: COMBATTING VESTIGES OF ISLAM

Moscow ATEISTY V NASTUPLENII. PREODOLENIYA PEREZHITKOV ISLAMA V Natsional'nom samosoznanii (Atheists on the Offensive. Overcoming the Vestiges of Islam in the National Consciousness) in Russian 1978 signed to press 27 Oct 78, pp 2-11, 140-144

[Annotation, table of contents, introduction and conclusion from book by Irshad Agarzaevich Makatov, Izdatel'stvo "Sovetskaya Rossiya," 20,000 copies, 144 pages]

[Text] This book, which is written in the genre of a social-psychological sketch, examines specific features of the growth of the national consciousness in followers of Islam, analyzes the causes and conditions which accelerate the process of international convergence of peoples and which promote the overcoming of religious, ethnic and nationalistic prejudices under conditions of developed socialism.

The book is intended for lecturers, propagandists of atheism, and party workers.

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INTRODUCTION

The national problem has always been one of the most critical and complex problems in the history of humanity.

National discord and enmity are constant companions of bourgeois society, issuing directly out of the very nature of this society in which private property and man's exploitation by man rule. As K. Marx wrote, "for peoples to actually unite they must share common interests. For their interests to be common the existing property relationships must be destroyed, for the existing property relationships determine the exploitation of some peoples by others..."<sup>1</sup> That is why not a single capitalistic state is able to solve the national problem.

It is only in the USSR and the fraternal countries of socialism by virtue of the consistent wise policy of the Communist parties that all forms of social and national oppression and inequality have been done away with by radical social, economic and political transformations.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics embodies a brotherhood of more than 100 nations and peoples which have united into 53 republics, oblasts, and districts.

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"The Victory of October," said General Secretary of the CPSU CC, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Council Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report "Great October and the Progress of Humanity," "was simultaneously a victory in the struggle for national liberation...[sic] Oppression and mistrust in relations between nations have given way to friendship and mutual respect. Wherever the psychology of national egoism was prevalent for ages, internationalism has been solidly confirmed... A new historical commonality of peoples has been shaped--the Soviet people."<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless the successful resolution of the national question in the USSR does not remove the separate problems of national relations.

National relations are complex processes which are rich in their content and bonds and they embrace all spheres of material, political and spiritual life of the peoples of the USSR. "...national relations even in a society of mature socialism are a reality which is constantly developing and promoting new problems and tasks."<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, improving national relations and uncovering and eliminating whatever prevents this and dictated by the objective requirements of the modern stage in the development of our society.

The extent of the most important problems and tasks in the area of national relations under conditions of developed socialism has been defined in a number of documents of the CPSU and above all in a resolution of the CPSU CC "On preparation for the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," in a report of L. I. Brezhnev "On the fifty years of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," and in resolutions of the XXV Session of the CPSU. In these documents the party has elaborated a comprehensive program for the further maturation and convergence of all the nations and peoples of our country. Its fulfillment is an important stem in the improvement of national relations, in reinforcing internationalization of all spheres of the life of our society, and it will promote further strengthening of friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples. Therefore, it is completely proper and lawful that the party attaches great importance to the systematic instructing of workers in the spirit of internationalism and Soviet patriotism, and intolerance for manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and regional superiority.

"Strengthening of the ideas of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, pride in the country of soviets and in our fatherland, readiness to rise to the defense of the gains of socialism in the minds of workers, especially those of the young generation was and remains one of the important tasks of the party," mentions a summary report to the CPSU CC at its XXV Session.<sup>4</sup>

Problems of the development of national relations, the formation of national consciousness, its relationships with other aspects of the spiritual and practical life of people stir up broad social interest.

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However, the problem of the interconnection of national and religious features in the consciousness of peoples living in a territory with a traditional predominance of Islam, and the effects of the religious aspect on the lifestyles and self-consciousness of these peoples has still been insufficiently studied.

National and religious consciousness and their development and evolution are determined by the social and economic structure of society.

The development of political, legal, moral, religious and other forms of social consciousness is based on the economic development according to the classics of Marxism-Leninism. But they all also have an effect on one another and on the economic basis.

Not one people has consciously chosen a religion for itself. Religious beliefs, just as language, tastes, customs, traditions and much else, which distinguishes an ethnic community have come to it historically. Religious concepts and cults, being a specifically distorted reflection in the consciousness of social existence, arose together with the rise of their bearers--races, tribes, and peoples--in conformity with their living standards.

"All ancient religions," noted F. Engel's, "were spontaneous tribal developments, and later national religions, which grew out of the social and political conditions of each people and became entwined with them."<sup>5</sup>

Consequently, the interconnection of religion and ethnic formations, beginning with their early forms, have an objective nature. To the same degree that the social, economic and natural conditions gave birth in them to ethnic consciousness and self-consciousness, these same conditions, wrongly realized, caused the religious consciousness and self-consciousness in them which corresponded to the ethnic consciousness.

For the peoples of the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Volga River valley, Islam was not a spontaneously arising religion. It was brought in by eastern conquerors. The spread of Islam in these territories strengthened the interweaving of national and religious elements in all spheres of life of these peoples. Having become the ruling ideology of feudal society, Islam (just as other class religions) gradually changed into a comparatively independent force which in turn more and more deeply invaded the national spheres of life of the peoples, distorting and subordinating the spiritual and practical activities of the people to itself.

Under the conditions of developed socialist society the national consciousness and self-consciousness are steadily liberated from the religious elements, which is explained not only by damage to the social and gnosiological roots of religions, but also by the growth of class, international and national consciousness of all Soviet peoples.

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In addition, the liberation of the national element from the religious element occurs nonuniformly in different areas of the social and personal lives and not simultaneously in all categories of people. Religiosity in varying degrees and in its various forms and relationships with the national consciousness and self-consciousness of the believing section of the inhabitants is more prominently manifested in the preserved folk traditions, customs and manners.

It is not coincidence that the connection of the Moslem religion with the national aspect under conditions of mature socialism is revealed more in the ordinary consciousness, in the spheres of social and family daily life of the believers and significantly less in the social, political and ideological areas of their activity.

The attempt of a certain part of the clergy to present their religion as an integral national feature can to a known degree give birth to nationalistic sentiments and feelings of Moslem exclusivity in the believers who are backward in a political sense, which in turn leads to preservation not only of the religious, but of many other vestiges including feudal-patriarchal throwbacks.

All this has a negative effect on the development of national relations.

The modern believer who is an adherent of Islam is a bearer of both a national and a religious consciousness. In order to successfully conduct a battle with the vestiges of Islam in general and in the national consciousness in particular, one must understand how these contradictory elements are combined in the consciousness and how they manifest in the behavior of one and the same person, what conditions and causes give rise to this phenomenon, determine the principal direction for complete liberation of national processes from the effect of Islam in places where this influence has taken hold. It is no less important to establish specific ways for the convergence of people of different nationalities and beliefs in the process of further internationalization of the socialist way of life.

A correct understanding and solution of these problems will permit one to conduct atheistic propaganda in a more reasoned way, and it will deprive modern apologists of Islam of the possibility to take advantage of the national feelings and attitudes of people.

In this work the author illuminates the above named problems, and many problems are examined here for the first time.

The book is based on extensive sociological material which for the most part has not been published before, and which was gathered over a period of many years in the republics and oblasts of the northern Caucasus--primarily Dagestan and Checheno-Ingushetiya.<sup>6</sup>

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The author sincerely thanks all the comrades who took an active part in organizing and carrying out the investigations, and also the administration and colleagues of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU CC, of the Dagestan V. I. Lenin State University and the Dagestan State Pedagogical Institute for the help given during the preparation of this book.

CONCLUSION

A sociological analysis of the problem of overcoming Islam in the national consciousness and self-consciousness has led us to the following general conclusions.

The dialectics of national and religious elements in the consciousness and behavior of the believing part of the inhabitants is of a complex and contradictory nature. The author has made an attempt first to establish several, in a certain sense, hidden objective and subjective factors and conditions which in varying degree show the demand of people for religious forms. Objective knowledge and consideration of these forms, the nature and motives of the very conversions of believers determine the optimal methods for controlling the process of overcoming both the inherent religious consciousness and the other elements mixed with them and also the negative aspects in the national-ethnic psychology, which directly or indirectly nourish the Moslem faith and are themselves nourished from it.

Second, to uncover the inner structure of the ordinary consciousness of believers, the interconnections of the components of its religious and national elements in their dynamics and interaction with other spheres of human activities.

An understanding of all this will facilitate solution of problems of liberation of the national consciousness and national relations from the influence of Islam wherever it has taken hold.

Third, to determine the principal tendencies and laws of the development of national consciousness and self-consciousness on an international basis, isolate not only the positive but also the negative aspects which arise in the process of socialization of believers of different nationalities and denominational preferences.

Thorough knowledge of these distinctive aspects will create a real possibility for more effective control of the process of further convergence of nationalities and the internationalization of their way of life.

Fourth, to reveal and analyze such spheres and connections in the social-everyday and family-kin relations, which have been negligibly covered by atheistic, international and patriotic education. In addition to this specific, sociological study of the state and experience of scientific-

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atheistic propaganda in regions of traditional spread of Islam will enable one to make use of the most efficient forms, methods and means of atheistic education, in which national particular, traditional and modern most-improved procedures of ideological action are combined.

Dagestan, Checheno-Ingushetiya and other republics and oblasts of the northern Caucasus, in their social and ethnic structure, dynamics of development to a significant degree reflect the processes which are characteristic for many peoples of the USSR, who have gone through the capitalistic stage of development and who are on the path to socialism and communism.

It is well known that Islam at various times became the ruling ideology among the greater part of the inhabitants of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Northern Caucasus and Azerbaijan, Tatars and Bashkiriya and some other regions. This means that the influence of Islam and its vestiges are naturally preserved in different geographical zones of the country which are quite remote from one another and which differ in the national composition of the inhabitants. Although the peoples of these regions belong to different nationalities, they still have many common religious and national features. The similarity of the preserved faiths and religions, as well as national psychology is determined not only and not so much by religious identity, but also by the fact that the majority of peoples of the national outlying districts of Russia on the eve of the Great October socialist revolution were basically at one level of sociopolitical and cultural development, from which they began their road to socialism.

As a consequence of this the processes which have been subjected to sociological analysis in this book, in our opinion, in many cases are similar to the processes which occurred in other national republics and oblasts, and generalizations and conclusions, with the exception of some aspects, can be applied even in the remaining locations where vestiges of the Islam religion are still encountered.

The struggle against religion and religiosity, V. I. Lenin has taught, is not a battle against believers, but a battle for a believer who must be helped to liberate himself from opinions, convictions and attitudes which are incompatible with scientific, Marxist world view, and which should thus even more actively involve every Soviet person in the construction of a new society, in the struggle for the triumph of Communist ideals.

The study of the connections of religious and national consciousness through living bearers of these phenomena in the light of Lenin's instructions makes it possible, on the one hand, to make a more well reasoned critique of Islam, deprive its modern apologists of the possibilities of taking advantage of the national feelings and attitudes, the richness of forms of their manifestations, and on the other hand, it permits one to improve control of the processes of internationalization and atheization of the social-everyday and personal life of all people of our multinational fatherland.

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The strength of our socialist order lies in the consciousness and conviction, and in the high degree of activity of all its members. Further increase of the effectiveness of ideological-educational work, including international and atheistic education, conducting it in close cooperation with labor and moral education will permit us to raise still higher the creative energy of all Soviet peoples in the name of actualizing the plans of communist construction, noted at the XXV Session of the CPSU.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marks and F. Engel's, Soch. Izd. 2-e. Vol. 4. M., Politizdat, 1961, p 371.
2. "Political self-education," 1977, No 11, p 7.
3. L. I. Brezhnev. On the fifty years of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. M., Politizdat, 1972, p 24.
4. Materials of the XXV Session of the CPSU. M., Politizdat, 1976. p 75.
5. K. Marks and F. Engel's. Soch., Vol. 19, p 312.
6. In this book I have used materials of investigations of the Sociology laboratory of Dagestan State Pedagogical Institute and the Dagestan base of the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU CC, and also materials of a joint study of the inhabitants of Checheno-Ingushskaya ASSR and Dagestanskaya ASSR, by the Institute of Scientific Atheism, by the Checheno-Ingushskiy obkom of the CPSU and the Social Institute of Sociological Studies of the CPSU Dagestan obkom. These investigations were conducted in 1965-1975 and 1970-1972.

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ARTICLE HITS CRITICS OF USSR NATIONALITY RELATIONS

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR, SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH  
NAUK in Russian No 3, 1979 signed to press 26 Jun 79 pp 66-73

/Article by Zh. Kh. Dzhunusova: "Nationality Relations in the USSR and Their Critics"/

/Text/ The entire course of international events of our time--the growing might of the world system of socialism, advance of the international working class movement and victories of the national liberation struggle--confirms the correctness and effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist theory with renewed strength. Millions of new people, who see in socialism prospects for historical progress, rise under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The movement of revolutionary forces gives rise to a fierce opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie. Having lost its hope for successful frontal attacks on socialism by political, diplomatic and economic means, imperialism concentrates its efforts in the ideological sphere.

The Land of the Soviets is one of the main objects of systematic attacks by reactionary bourgeois historiography, which takes the stand of anticommunism. In the last few years the past and present of the Soviet republics in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the Leninist national policy of the CPSU and the relations of friendship and cooperation among the nations of our country have been subjected to unrestrained slander and falsification. This article makes an attempt to show the bankruptcy of the methods and techniques of bourgeois critics, who falsify the achievements of the cultural revolution in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, of the process of mutual enrichment and rapprochement among national cultures and of the free development of national languages under socialism.

Works by K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin form the methodological basis for Soviet science. They not only equip us with an advanced scientific world outlook and a truly scientific methodology of gaining knowledge of the historical process, but also give answers to specific problems arising in the course of analysis and criticism of modern bourgeois historiography. V. I. Lenin wrote: "The whole spirit of Marxism and its entire system demand that every statement be examined only /a/ historically, /b/ only in connection with others and /c/ only in connection with specific historical experience."<sup>1</sup>

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Bourgeois historians cannot give a scientific analysis of the new phenomena of social life, because they absolutize some aspects of the phenomena to the detriment of others and substitute the abstract historical approach for the concrete approach. Therefore, now a rough and now a subtle falsification of reality is the only weapon of our ideological opponents.

The urgent task of scientific criticism of the ideology of anticommunism is successfully solved by the common efforts of Soviet scientists. The ideological and methodological principles of anticommunism were subjected to a detailed criticism in the works of P. N. Fedoseyev, M. B. Mitin, Ts. A. Stepanyan, V. V. Zagladin and others. The monographs of E. A. Bagramov, I. A. Groshev, S. T. Kaltakhchyan, L. V. Metelitsa, Ye. D. Modrzhinskaya<sup>2</sup> and others, where the antiscientific essence of the "investigations" by bourgeois ideologists is disclosed, are devoted to the criticism of bourgeois falsification of the Leninist theory of nations and the national policy of the CPSU.

Many works of Soviet scientists, among which investigations by Kazakhstan social scientists hold a prominent place, are devoted to the exposure of falsifying fabrications of "Sovietologists" in connection with a number of problems of building socialism in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.<sup>3</sup>

The critical analysis of modern bourgeois falsifications of nationality relations in the USSR, despite a significant number of investigations of this problem, cannot be considered complete. During the present period there is an evolution of the forms and methods of anticommunism and of anti-Soviet propaganda. "Sovietologists" and "Central Asian specialists" use ever more skillful methods to suggest to the nations of developing countries the "impossibility" of using Soviet experience in the solution of the nationality question and development of nationality relations. Therefore, under conditions of developed socialism, when nationality relations have entered a new stage in their development, the problems of ideological fight against the hostile ideas of anticommunism are urgent as never before.

During the present age the struggle between the two world outlooks in the question of nationality relations is especially acute. At one time V. I. Lenin wrote: "We must tirelessly fight against any bourgeois ideology, no matter how fashionable and brilliant the uniforms that it wears."<sup>4</sup> The 25th CPSU Congress raised the problem of the need to promptly rebuff hostile ideological subversive activities: "To engage in a well-reasoned criticism of bourgeois ideology..., to expose various types of falsifiers of history, who try to disparage the international significance of the October Revolution and of the path traversed by our party and nation and to resolutely rebuff anticommunism."<sup>5</sup>

Generalization of the experience of the Soviet Union in the solution of the nationality question is of special importance under present conditions. There are about 2,000 nations and national and ethnic groups in the world. At the same time, more than three-fourths of them undergo the process of national and state formation. In connection with this the progressively minded part

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of society in many countries turns more and more often to Soviet experience in the solution of the nationality question, which has demonstrated the possibility for the formation and successful development of new types of nations--socialist nations. This is especially clearly shown by the new USSR Constitution, from whose provisions it follows that the resolution of the nationality question in our country irrefutably demonstrates the capacity of all nations without exception for active independent historical creative work. The Basic Law affirms the Leninist principle that socialism "creates higher, new forms of human community..."<sup>6</sup> The preamble states that the USSR "is a society of mature socialist social relations, in which, on the basis of the drawing together of all classes and social strata and of the juridical and factual equality of all nations and nationalities and their fraternal cooperation, a new historical community of people--the Soviet nation--has been formed.

The stronger the sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society becomes, the more persistently the bourgeoisie and its ideologists strive to falsify the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and the political and organizational activity of the CPSU. The present stage in the evolution of bourgeois ideology combines anticommunism, anti-Sovietism and subtle bourgeois nationalism, retaining chauvinistic and racist ideas to one extent or another.

The ideological and theoretical roots of the bourgeois "theories" of nation are various idealistic concepts of bourgeois philosophy and ethnopsychology and the gnoseological roots, an exaggeration of individual characteristics of a specific nation, detachment of the particular from the general and transformation of this particular into something exceptional and eternal, reevaluation of the role of nation in the development of society and absolutization of the national-specific. The nation is proclaimed as the highest individuality and the natural and eternal form of people's existence and differences and frictions between nations, as permanent.

A special branch of bourgeois sociology--sociology of racial and ethnic relations--studies the nationality question. It is "investigated" by the famous bourgeois sociologists A. Toynbee, G. Morgenthau, E. Bogardus, R. Norton, L. Dut, G. Kon and others. The imperialist propaganda becomes more and more differentiated and its strategists try to take into consideration the characteristics of a certain region, its population and traditions. There are "specialists" in the Transcaucasian, Baltic, Central Asian and other regions. So-called "Central Asian specialists" use other "concepts" and "theories" different from others, but, in principle, they are called upon to solve the same problems, that is, to undermine the confidence of USSR nations in the national policy of the CPSU, to depict the policy in the wrong sense and to "substantiate" its "local" significance.

Approximately from the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, after the attainment of the complete and final victory of socialism, the Soviet country is at the concluding stage in the socialist cultural revolution, in

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the course of which the prerequisites (ideological and cultural) necessary for transition to communism are created. This corresponds to the stage of developed socialist society in the USSR.

The formed socialist spiritual culture of the Soviet nation is national in form and socialist in content. As V. I. Lenin noted, international culture is not devoid of nationality. The national policy of the CPSU established the full equality of nations, languages and cultures, eliminating the hegemony of any one culture and thereby "cultural autonomization" and "cultural pluralism" as well.

In the most general form national culture is the limitation of general human culture to the specific national and ethnic characteristics of a certain nation. However, everything that is inherent in general human culture is also available to any national culture. These concepts--general human and national culture--do not coincide fully. They correlate with each other as a whole and part, content and form. Since general human culture is primarily the totality of national cultures, every specific national culture is an organic part of worldwide culture. National culture is a form of manifestation of the general human content of culture. At the same time, however, national culture is specific. In addition to the fact that it forms part of general human culture, something individual remains in every national culture.

Sovietologists try to demonstrate in every possible way that the feeling of protest by non-Russian nations against the "center" and a "mood of cultural uprising," primarily against Russian culture, are ripening in the Soviet multinational state under conditions of developed socialism. For example, the following are typical statements: "The treasures of individual national culture were lost in the sea of socialism and internationalism,"<sup>7</sup> or "the majority of national minorities made material advances, no matter how impressive they may be, at the expense of spiritual and cultural restrictions and suppression of the features of their individuality. All of them were subjected to the pressure of Russification."<sup>8</sup>

National cultures also develop in the channel of socialist ideology during the period of developed socialism. They bring with them their traditions and experience in the artistic development of the world. The best works of literature and art convincingly demonstrate their genre, stylistic and individual wealth and diversity. The growth of international relations and strengthening of mutual spiritual communication among USSR nations were clearly reflected in the creative work of Kazakh writers, that is, in the verses and poems of Zh. Sain, A. Tazhibayev, S. Maulenov and A. Sarsenbayev, in the writings on public topics of M. Auezov, S. Mukanov and A. Alimzhanov and in the stories and novels of G. Musrepov, B. Momysh-ula, A. Nurpeisov and others. The enrichment of cultures is also manifested in the fact that the Armenian poetess S. Kaputikyan, Georgian writer I. Noneshvili, Ukrainian masters of the word A. Desnyak and O. Donchenko and others devoted their works to Kazakhstan and to its historical victories and new people.

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The development of Soviet multinational art is accompanied in the West by a flow of Sovietological literature, which is called upon either to refute or distort real facts. The statement that culture in the USSR is "standard" and in the West it is free is the height of demagoguery. Falsifiers call the modern literature of the nations of Central Asia and Kazakhstan "artificial education," where allegedly traditional eastern subjects are absent. They see a policy of coercion and "Russification" in the fact that writers criticize the harmful customs of old times and Islam, write about friendship with the Russian nation and stress the people's rising standard of living.

A fierce battle of ideas is waged in the modern world. The socialist realism of Soviet art sets humanistic ideals against modernistic unbelief and humiliation of the human personality. This can be clearly illustrated by Kazakh literature. Modern Kazakh literature is one of the most developed, interesting and artistically rich national literatures. Its prestige is especially obvious when reference is made to the founders of Kazakh literature, whose names have become part of its stock of gold. They are Saken Seyfullin, Il'yas Dzhanisugurov, Beimbet Maylin, Mukhtar Auezov, Sabit Mukanov, Gabit Musrepov, Gabiden Mustafin and others.

At present the role of literature has increased considerably; major, new works have appeared and their ideological and artistic level has risen. The novels of M. Auezov "Put' Abaya" [Abay's Path] and "Abay" [Abay] were awarded the Lenin Prize, writer-academician G. Musrepov is hero of socialist labor, writer A. Alimzhanov, winner of the prize imeni J. Nehru and A. Nurpeisov and D. Muldagaliyev are winners of the USSR State Prize.

An important place in the works of "Sovietologists" and "Central Asian specialists" is given to a distortion of the principle of partisanship in literature.

The principle of partisanship in art formulated by V. I. Lenin also now determines the content and methods of the party's cultural policy. Partisanship is not an invention of party members, but an objective factor. Any literature expressing the interests of any class, if not subjectively, objectively is partisan. The 25th CPSU Congress again stressed that both "liberal" evasiveness and unprincipled "noninterference" on the one hand and any bureaucratic administration on the other are alien to communist partisanship and to the Leninist principles of guidance of the development of artistic creativity. "The party approach to the problems of literature and art combines a sensitive attitude toward the artistic intelligentsia and help in its creative search with a principled nature."<sup>9</sup> In its very essence this approach is profoundly constructive and principled.

Bourgeois ideologists, ignoring the aspiration of the Soviet creative intelligentsia for an objective reflection of reality on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory and metaphysically contrasting partisanship and high artistic value, repeatedly talk about the hopelessness of art in the USSR and coercion with respect to the creative work of Central Asian literary figures.

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For example, this is what R. Barret writes in the collection "Nationality Question in Central Asia: "The official statements and criticism emanating from the prestigious USSR Writers' Union are the literary policy sanctioned by the CPSU. The congresses of the Writers' Union, at which men of letters from all the Union republics meet, are the transmission belts along which the policy from the center is transmitted to the periphery."<sup>10</sup>

Such a statement aims at setting writers against creative unions, through which the party carries out its line (so that literature may be closer to the people and express their interests and aspirations), belittling the importance of national literatures and, ultimately, enkindling nationalism. However, the entire 60-year history of the Soviet regime convincingly shows that the party sees its main task in the field of art in directing the efforts of the creative intelligentsia toward constructive activity. The favorite method of contrasting partisanship and artistic value used by Sovietologists is, in reality, the manifestation of bourgeois partisanship in art masked by neutrality and indifference to politics, but, actually, reflecting the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

Hypocritically "concerned" with the development of socialist nations, bourgeois ideologists in every possible way impose the thesis on the need to retain originality of national culture, by this meaning only the archaic features of this originality. N. Dodge, editor of the book "The Soviets in Asia," writes in the foreword: "The center carries out persistently, but less successfully, the cultural assimilation of nations inhabiting the Soviet territory. The theories of the formation of the 'Soviet man' and the 'drawing together of national cultures' into a special socialist culture serve to mask the object of blending national minorities with the Russian culture."<sup>11</sup>

With the unqualified quest for the preservation of the "originality," but, in fact, isolation of culture all the changes objectively occurring in the culture and traditions of nations are perceived by the advocates of the patriarchal approach as a loss of originality, departure from it and decline in national culture. Since the objective processes of internationalization of all social life and the drawing together of nations are some of the obvious reasons for the changes mentioned, the quest for the conservation of the archaic features of the originality of culture is directed against the development of national culture, against the drawing together of nations and against the demands of progress.

The policy directed toward the drawing together of national cultures opens up vast possibilities for the manifestation of true originality, which is illustrated by the creative work of Ch. Aytmatov, R. Gamzatov, R. Babadzhani and others. Prospects for an all-around development of progressive traditions and detection of the wealth and unique peculiarity of forms in the culture of every nation open up in the process of movement toward communism. At the same time, mutual relationships are intensified and there is mutual enrichment of socialist cultures on the basis of the ideas of internationalism. Spiritual fellowship has become one of the best traditions of multinational Soviet art. Ten-day art and literature celebrations, festivals

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and an exchange of the best artistic groups with other fraternal republics are important events in the cultural life of Kazakhstan, as well as of other republics. Ten-day art and literature festivals of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Latvia, Armenia and Uzbekistan were held in Kazakhstan in the last few years. Days of literature of Soviet Kazakhstan were held with great success in Leningrad during the year of the 60th anniversary of the Great October.

Days and weeks of the Soviet Union held abroad contribute to a greater interest in the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and to their culture. A large group of creative workers representing Kazakhstan in October 1975 during the days of the Soviet Union in France, which was reported by the progressive press of that country, enjoyed exceptional success. Such acts with the participation of Kazakhstan people were held in many socialist countries, Norway, the FRG, India and Angola during the anniversary year.

The ideologists of anticommunism try in every possible way to distort the principles of the Leninist national language policy. Falsifying the historical course of events, they advance a false thesis on the allegedly artificial character and forced dissemination of the Russian language. "The Soviet policy of rapprochement tries to create a new supernational individuality based on bilingualism (native tongue and Russian)."12 With such statements bourgeois critics want to drive a wedge between the Russian and other nations of the USSR. A profound understanding and propaganda of the Marxist-Leninist national language policy and demonstration of the objective and progressive nature of functioning of the language of internationality communication in the country can be the best answer to this.

Overcoming the language barrier is of great importance for the further development of nations and their cultures and for the internationalization of their life. The experience of the Land of the Soviets shows that socialism has found the only correct way of solving the national language problem. This is the free development of all national languages on the basis of equal rights and mutual enrichment with a simultaneous extensive and voluntary utilization of one of the equal languages--Russian--as the language of internationality communication. This is not a privilege due to the superiority of the Russian language over other languages, but a historical mission that fell to its lot owing to historically formed circumstances and to the need for overcoming the language barrier in the life of USSR nations.

The language of every nation possesses the ability to reflect and express the wealth of culture. Hence the objective need to develop in every possible way national languages and the Russian language as the language of internationality communication. Bilingualism is the most correct and rational way of developing the language culture of the era of socialism. The socialist system creates, not only enunciates, practical conditions for the implementation of the equality of languages. At present we have attained a level when leaning on two languages--national and international--has become a daily need for every nation and nationality and one of the mandatory conditions for their further flourishing and rapprochement. Whereas according

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to the 1959 census out of 94.7 million non-Russian people the native tongue and nationality of 11.7 million people (12.4 percent) did not coincide, according to the 1970 census this figure increased considerably--out of 112.7 million non-Russians 14 million (12.98 percent) did not consider the language of their nationality to be their native tongue. At the same time, in 1959 a total of 10.2 million and in 1970 a total of 13 million non-Russians named the Russian language as their native tongue. The 1970 census showed that 14.5 percent of the Uzbeks, 41.8 percent of the Kazakhs, 15.4 percent of the Tadzhiks, 15.4 percent of the Turkmen, 19.1 percent of the Kirgizes, 35.6 percent of the Uygurs, 10.4 percent of the Karakalpaks and so forth living in the USSR were fluent in the Russian language.

A voluntary study of the Russian language contributes to the further flourishing and drawing together of nations and nationalities and increase in their contribution to the general cultural treasure of USSR nations. As D. A. Kunayev noted, "by joining through the Russian language the treasures of world culture, our (Kazakh--Zh. D.) people grew spiritually, began to think in big social categories and their horizon grew immeasurably... The vocabulary of the Kazakh language has never been as rich and the number of books, newspapers and journals published in the Kazakh language has never been as large as now."<sup>13</sup>

A distortion of the foundations of the socialist system, its social processes and experience in the solution of the nationality question in the USSR and falsification of nationality relations at the present stage are the aims of "Sovietologists." The social roots of such falsifications are evident. They are dictated by the desire to create artificial barriers among nations, to act against the strengthening of the unity among them and to demonstrate the "unacceptability" of the experience in the USSR in the solution of the nationality question for other states. The danger of anticommunism lies in the fact that its ideologists, appealing to man's emotions, speculate in the subtle feeling of national dignity. However, the attacks by bourgeois apologists, who falsify the dialectics of the national and international under socialism, are refuted by life itself and by the entire practice of building the new society.

V. I. Lenin foresaw that our country, including the republics of the Soviet East, would champion the ideas of the October Revolution in Asian and African countries and noted in his letter "to comrades party members of Turkestan" that the establishment of correct relations with the nations of Turkestan was "without exaggeration, one can say, of gigantic and world historical importance."<sup>14</sup>

The extensive and instructive experience of Kazakh, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen and Kirgiz nations, which carried out the transition to socialism, bypassing capitalism, and the present stage in the development of nationality relations in our country make it possible to draw important conclusions on the ways and forms of social progress in developing countries.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch." /Complete Works/, Vol 49, p 329.
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5. "Postanovleniye TsK KPSS 'O 60-y Godovshchine Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii'" /Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"/, Moscow, 1977.
6. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 26, p 40.
7. "Kulturfurpolitik der Sowjetunion," Stuttgart, 1973, S. 321.
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9. "Materialy XXV S'yezda KPSS" /Data of the 25th CPSU Congress/, Moscow, 1976, p 80.
10. E. Allioorth (ed.), "Nationality Question in Central Asia," N. Y.-Wash.-Z. 1973, p 23.

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11. N. Dodge (ed.), "The Soviets in Asia," Mechanicsville, Gremona Foundation, 1972, p 6.
12. G. Shopflin (ed.), "The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," Z, 1970, p 203.
13. In the collection "V Yedincy Sem'ye Bratskikh Narodov" [In One Family of Fraternal Nations], Alma-Ata, 1971, pp 76-77.
14. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, p 304.

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FURTHER IMPROVEMENT IN COPYRIGHT LEGISLATION URGED

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR SERIYA OBSHCHESTVENNYKH  
NAUK in Russian No 3, 1979 signed to press 26 Jun 79 pp 74-79

Article by U. K. Ikhsanov: "USSR Constitution and Some Problems of Improving Copyright Legislation"

Text In his concluding remarks at the seventh special session of the USSR Supreme Soviet L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Constitutional Commission, said that the entry of the USSR Constitution into force presupposes the fulfillment of an extensive program of legislative work, including the introduction of a number of changes in and supplements to current legislation.<sup>1</sup> As applied to republic legislation this was discussed in the report by D. A. Kunayev, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, chairman of the commission on the preparation of the Kazakh SSR draft constitution, at the session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet on 19 April 1978.<sup>2</sup>

The statements presented pertain to many branches and institutions of Soviet legislation, including, without any doubt, such a civil law institution as copyright. The USSR Council of Ministers, which embarked on the organization of work on bringing the legislative acts of the USSR and decisions of the USSR Government in correspondence with the USSR Constitution, among others, formed a commission, which should submit proposals on the introduction of changes in and supplements to the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics.<sup>3</sup> Of course, after the completion of this work it will be necessary to bring the civil legislation of the Union republics and, in particular, copyright legislation in correspondence with the new constitutional legislation of the USSR and the Union republics.

During this revision it is necessary to take into account the experience in the legal regulation of author's relations at various stages of development of the socialist state and to greatly improve copyright legislation so that it may more fully correspond to the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the Union republics, which, in accordance with the aims of building communism, guarantee freedom of scientific, technical and artistic creative work to the Soviet people (see article 47 of the USSR Constitution and article 45 of the Kazakh SSR Constitution).

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Before the beginning of the 1960's copyright legislation, consisting of the All-Union Fundamentals of Copyright of 1928,<sup>4</sup> special copyright laws of the Union republics and other acts of Union, as well as republic, significance, existed outside the system of republic civil codes. Copyright provisions were included in the civil code in the form of a separate section (placed between the sections "Law of Obligations" and "Law of Succession") only in the Azerbaijan SSR. In our opinion, such a difference in the determination of the place of copyright was due to the fact that at the time of ratification of the RSFSR Civil Code of 1922 and of the civil codes of other republics there were no systematized copyright provisions (the first systematized copyright act was worked out on an all-Union scale only by 1925 in the form of the Fundamentals) and, owing to their complexity and specificity, in practice, it was impossible to work them out anew in the short time during which the civil code was adopted.<sup>5</sup> The fact that in the decree dated 22 May 1922 of the RSFSR All-Russian Central Executive Committee "On Basic Property Rights,"<sup>6</sup> which was to serve as the basis for the elaboration of a draft of the RSFSR Civil Code, among the other civil rights recognized by the Soviet Republic and protected by its courts copyright was also mentioned can serve as the basis for such a conclusion, or at least as a demonstration of the lack of fundamental objections against the inclusion of copyright provisions in the civil code.

With regard to the Azerbaijan SSR Civil Code, when the "copyright" section was included in it (this section was first included in the so-called third edition of the civil code promulgated in 1927) the Fundamentals of Copyright of 1925 had already been in effect. In essence, the indicated section of the Azerbaijan SSR Civil Code initially reproduced the Fundamentals of Copyright of 1925 quite accurately. The changes made in this section at the end of 1928 (decree dated 15 December 1928 of the Azerbaijan SSR Central Executive Committee--Collection of Laws of the Azerbaijan SSR of 1929, No 1, article 17) resulted mainly from the replacement of the Fundamentals of Copyright of 1925 with a new all-Union act--Fundamentals of Copyright of 1928.

Other republics, neither after the adoption of the Fundamentals of Copyright of 1925, nor after the promulgation of the Fundamentals of Copyright of 1928, did not follow the path of inclusion of copyright provisions in civil codes and retained their own copyright laws as separate and independent acts.

The USSR Constitution adopted in 1936 affirmed the regulation that the adoption of a civil code pertains to the jurisdiction of the USSR. To execute this regulation, drafts of the USSR Civil Code began to be worked out. The question of the need to include copyright provisions in the Civil Code began to be discussed in the literature during that period. In particular, M. V. Gordon wrote: "There can be no fundamental considerations for not including copyright provisions in the USSR Civil Code."<sup>7</sup>

Ye. A. Fleyshits was also in favor of including a "detailed regulation" of the personal rights of authors of literary, scientific and artistic works in the future USSR Civil Code.<sup>8</sup>

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As is well known, however, the USSR Civil Code was not adopted. In 1957 the legislator revised his position with regard to the codification of civil legislation and placed the adoption of the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, not of the civil code, within the competence of the USSR.

In accordance with this redistribution of powers in the field of civil legislation the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics, which devoted one of the sections (V) to copyright, were ratified in 1961. This meant that copyright was included in the general system of provisions regulating civil legal relations for the first time.

Since the Fundamentals are an act called upon to establish only the most important general provisions, in accordance with which all branch legislation is built, a detailed regulation of author's relations had to be made by other civil legislation acts subject to elaboration by Union or republic organs in accordance with their competence.

Part 1, article 3, of the Fundamentals places the regulation of the overwhelming majority of property and personal nonproperty relations under the joint jurisdiction of the USSR and the Union republics. Only the relations enumerated in parts 2 and 3, article 3, of the Fundamentals constitute the object of regulation of the USSR. Relations occurring in connection with the creation and use of literary, scientific and artistic works, in contrast to blood (kindred) relations occurring in connection with discoveries, inventions and rationalization proposals, are not indicated on this list. This means that the regulation of author's relations is placed within the joint competence of the USSR and the Union republics.

Such a distribution of competence in the regulation of author's relations at first seemed legitimate and valid. However, the practice of legal regulation of author's relations during the last decade evokes doubt as to the advisability of retaining such a distribution.

On the whole, the regulation of author's relations in the civil codes of the Union republics, as compared with the Fundamentals, is not only more complete, but, as a rule, concluding: The codes do not "misuse" reference provisions. This is understandable, because codes are acts called upon to directly regulate the pertinent area of social relations, not to perform the role of republic fundamentals.<sup>9</sup> But it was impossible to completely give up the reference to acts, primarily delegated acts outside the limits of civil codes. The specificity of regulated relations requires the adoption of standard author's contracts, rates of author's remuneration and other acts, which can be called "minor" copyright legislation. It must be immediately asserted that the state of the "minor" legislation in effect leaves much to be desired. And that is why.

Rates of author's remuneration constitute a significant part of the "minor" legislation outside the limits of the Fundamentals and civil codes. At present some of the existing rates of author's remuneration are approved by

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Union organs, while others, by republic organs. Usually, however, it is impossible to substantiate why some rates are approved, for example, by the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems, others, by the USSR Council of Ministers and still others, by the Council of Ministers of a Union republic. At times it is impossible to disclose the principles on which the system of rates of author's remuneration for the use of certain types of works is built. A number of shortcomings of the existing system of rates of author's remuneration have already been indicated in the literature. In particular, I. A. Gringol'ts notes the lack of coordination in payment with different types of use of similar works, in large measure, an arbitrary selection of indicators on which author's additional remuneration is based, and some other shortcomings.<sup>10</sup> V. I. Chertkov writes that the rates of payment in effect in copyright have a direction that is more quantitative than qualitative.<sup>11</sup> To this it can be added that for some types of use of works to this day there are no rates approved in a proper manner.

Standard author's contracts and other delegated acts affiliated with them, approved according to the general rule in a departmental manner, form an important part of "minor" copyright legislation. However, being departmental, such acts at times establish rules that conflict with civil codes and infringe upon the interests of authors. If a departmental act contradicting the civil code were of republic significance, the question as to which of them is subject to application would be solved simply, on the basis of article 123 of the Kazakh SSR Constitution, according to which "ministries and state committees of the Kazakh SSR ... within the limits of their competence promulgate acts on the basis of and pursuant to the laws of the USSR and the Kazakh SSR..." However, the point is that almost all the existing standard contracts and other similar delegated acts are approved by Union departments. In our legislation there are no indications on how to solve the problem of the hierarchy of acts if the law (normative act possessing a superior juridical force) is a republic law and the departmental act opposing it is an all-Union act. Both the USSR Constitution previously in effect and the present one envisage only a case of discrepancy between the law of a Union republic and the all-Union law. It is true that from the content of article 74 of the USSR Constitution it follows that any other act, apart from an all-Union law, including a Union departmental act, does not have an advantage over the law of a Union republic. However, in each case of a discrepancy between a departmental act and the law (even if these acts are of the same order) there is real fear that the organization that uses a work will apply the departmental act, not the law. In order to avoid such cases, it is necessary, in general, to eliminate the affirmation of acts regulating relations between authors and organizations in a departmental manner.

In our opinion, the examples presented indicate quite convincingly that it is necessary to further improve copyright legislation. One must agree with O. A. Krasavchikov's opinion that the general (in his expression) codification of civil legislation (Fundamentals--republic civil codes) does not remove from the agenda the problem of specialized codification of the legal

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institutions that are most important and major in their normative composition.<sup>12</sup> Without any doubt copyright pertains to both important and major institutions.

To develop his point of view, O. A. Krasavchikov proposed that the problem of working out drafts of housing, construction, bank and other codes be discussed.

To some extent the fact that the proposal on the adoption of Union fundamentals of housing legislation and republic housing codes was approved at the special seventh session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the ninth convocation can be considered evidence of the vitality of such a measure.<sup>13</sup> With respect to copyright it is not superfluous to recall that the All-Union Fundamentals of Copyright of 1925 and 1928, as well as republic copyright laws, already existed in the history of this institution. Now, however, an independent elaboration of all-Union fundamentals of copyright and republic copyright laws (codes) is necessary provided the regulation of author's relations, as before, will constitute the joint competence of the USSR and the Union republics.

Meanwhile, the events of the last few years, in particular the conclusion by the Soviet Union of bilateral agreements with a number of foreign socialist countries on the mutual protection of authors' rights and the accession to the World (Geneva) Copyright Convention, make it necessary to discuss the problem of the advisability of retaining such a distribution of competence.

As already indicated, article 3 of the Fundamentals places the regulation of author's relations under the joint jurisdiction of the USSR and the Union republics. It would seem that with such a distribution of competence, if not all, then the overwhelming majority of delegated acts, to which civil codes are referred, will be worked out and approved in republics. Such a conclusion also suggested itself from the fact that such acts, first, in no way can be classified with the most important general regulations and, second, they should supplement and develop the provisions of the civil codes of the Union republics, but the latter often have their own characteristics.

However, practice followed another path. When the new civil codes were adopted in the Union republics, a number of standard author's contracts and other acts approved by Union organs (standard contract for production dated 24 March 1956, standard publishing contract for graphic art works and statute on wages for nonstaff artists and photographers performing graphic art work for reproduction in the press dated 20 July 1963 and so forth) had already been in effect. With the promulgation of new civil codes not one of these acts was considered invalid. Conversely, in time the number of such acts on an all-Union scale kept increasing.

In 1967, while republic standard publishing contracts were available in the Union republics, the Committee on Press under the USSR Council of Ministers approved two all-Union standard publishing contracts.<sup>14</sup>

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For the purpose of establishing rates of royalty for literary works unified in the country, the decree dated 25 April 1968 of the USSR Council of Ministers instructed the governments of the Union republics to establish rates of royalty in the amounts envisaged in the indicated decree. A number of other acts aimed at unifying author's legal provisions were adopted.<sup>15</sup>

As a result, a situation was created where, according to article 3 of the Fundamentals, the regulation of author's relations constitutes the joint competence of the USSR and the Union republics, but, in fact, these relations are regulated primarily in a centralized manner. In particular, while the civil codes of the Union republics have provisions (see, for example, article 503 of the Kazakh SSR Civil Code), according to which standard contracts are approved by the republic's Ministry of Culture (as a general rule), except for cases when USSR legislation places the approval of these contracts under the jurisdiction of the USSR (as an exception), in practice not a single standard contract has been approved in the Union republics.

However, can such a practice be considered a negative phenomenon and viewed as an infringement of the rights of the Union republics? It appears that the answers to these questions must be negative.

At the time of elaboration and ratification of the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation (1961) the Soviet Union did not have a single agreement with other countries on mutual copyright protection. Therefore, the resolution of many copyright problems at a republic level was quite understandable. However, the first bilateral international agreement on mutual copyright protection concluded in 1967 with the Hungarian People's Republic<sup>16</sup> putting the problem of unifying some author's legal provisions of republic legislation on the agenda and required the adoption of a number of other measures aimed at the realization of the agreement. In particular, it was necessary to establish "averaged" rates of royalty for the use in the USSR of works first published (executed) on the territory of the state with which an agreement on mutual copyright protection was concluded. The existing rates of author's remuneration for the use of works published in the USSR could not be applied to the indicated cases, because the majority of these rates were not strictly determined.

With the accession to the World (Geneva) Copyright Convention<sup>17</sup> the indicated problems arose again, because, according to the principles of this convention, every state guarantees the same copyright protection to citizens of other countries that are parties to the convention as to their own citizens.

The accession to the World Convention also required a uniform solution of some other problems. For example, the ukase dated 21 February 1973 of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet stipulated that the procedure of transferring the copyrights of USSR citizens to foreign successors, the procedure of permission by competent organs of the USSR for the translation of a work into another language (in the absence of the consent of the author himself for this) and the procedure of resolution of a number of other problems are established only by USSR legislation.<sup>18</sup>

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The above stated gives reason to conclude that the tendency toward the unification of author's legal provisions and toward the centralization of their promulgation, which has appeared in the last few years, is due to objective reasons, that is, in connection with the accession of the USSR to international agreements on mutual copyright protection and in the interests of ensuring copyright protection under the new conditions (not only on a country-wide scale, but also on an international scale). Since this is so, in our opinion, it is more advisable to place the legal regulation of author's relations primarily under the jurisdiction of the USSR.

The implementation of such a measure will make it possible, first, to begin the elaboration of a single copyright law. Second, this will mean that, subsequently, the legal regulation of all relations connected with the products of creative activity will be carried out in the same manner.

FOOTNOTES

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3. See SP SSSR 1978, No 2, p 8.
4. CZ SSSR 1928, No 27, p 246.
5. The legal structures of bourgeois legislation could not be used, because there copyright was interpreted as the right to literary (musical, artistic) property, which could be sold to a publisher or another entrepreneur. However, the Soviet Government in its decree dated 10 October 1919 "On Terminating the Force of Contracts for the Acquisition of Full Ownership of Works of Literature and Art" resolutely and forever rejected the theory of literary ownership (see SU RSFSR 1919, No 51, p 492).
6. SU RSFSR 1922, No 36, p 423.
7. Gordon, M. V., "The Concept of Soviet Copyright," "Uchenyye Zapiski Khar'kovskogo Yuridicheskogo Instituta" /Scientific Notes of the Khar'kov Juridical Institute/, Moscow, Yurizdat, 1939, Issue 1, p 90.
8. Fleyshits, Ye. A., "Personal Rights in the Civil Law of the USSR and Capitalist Countries," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO, 1940, No 7, p 72.

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9. Vaksberg, M. A., "On the Draft of the Kazakh SSR Civil Code," "Nauchnaya Konferentsiya po Teme 'Voprosy Primeneniya Novykh Kodeksov Soyuznykh Respublik i Zadachi Kodifikatsii Zakonodatel'stva'" /Scientific Conference on the Subject 'Problems of Application of New Codes of the Union Republics and Tasks of Codification of Legislation'/, Alma-Ata, 1962, p 87.
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12. Krasavchikov, O. A., "Further Codification of Soviet Civil Legislation," in the collection "Grazhdanskoye Pravo i Sposoby Yego Zashchity" /Civil Law and Methods of Protecting It/, Sverdlovsk, 1974, p 8.
13. Brezhnev, L. I., "Concluding Remarks at the Seventh Special Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet," IZVESTIYA, 1977, 8 October.
14. The order dated 24 February 1975 of the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade replaced the mentioned standard contracts with a new contract. See BYULLETEN' NORMATIVNYKH AKTOV MINISTERSTV I VEDOMSTV SSSR, 1975, No 7, p 34.
15. SP SSSR 1968, No 9, p 52.
16. SP SSSR 1967, No 30, p 213.
17. SP SSSR 1973, No 24, p 139.
18. VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1973, No 9, p 138.

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INTERNATIONALIST UNITY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLES

Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI in Georgian No 8, Aug 1979 pp 12-19

[Article by Professor Doctor of Historical Sciences R. Grdzeldze under rubric "The 25th CPSU Congress: Problems of Marxist-Leninist Theory": "Strengthen the Internationalist Unity of the Soviet People"]

[Text] The vital party document "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work" emphasizes that the party is successfully carrying out V. I. Lenin's legacy and instilling in every Soviet citizen a boundless love for his socialist homeland and a sense of the Soviet peoples' unshakable, brotherly friendship, and it is promoting the further strengthening of the Soviet people's unity and alliance.

Developed socialism is a new stage in the development of the whole system of Soviet social relations, specifically relations among socialist nations and nationalities. The characteristic features of this stage are these: all-round flourishing of the socialist nations and nationalities, intensive and ongoing rapprochement, strengthening of national consolidation and internationalization in all spheres of social life, deepening and broadening of relationships among nationalities, the formation and development of a historic new human entity--the multinational Soviet people, and strengthening of its internationalist unity.

Practical experience in the building of the communist social-economic formation has confirmed the inevitability of the creation of a new internationalist human entity under socialism, which V. I. Lenin scientifically foresaw long before the victory of the October Revolution. In his 1914 article "The Present State and Tasks of the Socialist Internationale" he wrote: "The socialist movement creates new, higher forms of people living together, in which the lawful demands and progressive aspirations of the working masses of all nationalities will be met for the first time in internationalist unity on condition that the present national barriers are destroyed" ("Works," Vol 21, pp 29-30).

In the past decade, definite progress has been made in investigating the theoretical problems of the Soviet people as a new historic human entity.

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Numerous studies have been published concerning the formation and development of the Soviet people, its place and role in the social-class structure of our society, and prospective development.

In the literature that has been published concerning the Soviet people, there are differences of opinion with regard to the periodization of the formation of this new social-political human entity. Some writers believe that the new historic human entity arose along with the creation of the foundations of socialism in the USSR; other writers believe that the formation of the Soviet people has come about only within developed socialism.

It must be emphasized that the formation of the new social phenomenon--the multinational Soviet people--has been a lengthy, complex, and multifaceted historical process which began at the time of the victory of the October Revolution and was completed after the full and final victory of socialism. In this lengthy historical period, the process of formation of the Soviet people has gone through two basic stages: First, the transitional period from capitalism to socialism; second, the building of developed socialism. In the first stage, along with the laying of the foundations of the socialist society and the basic victory of socialism the prerequisites for the formation of the new social human entity and its economic and political foundations came into being, and the outlines and characteristic features of the new historic entity were revealed more clearly and tangibly, but the new historic human entity as a complete social phenomenon came into being only under creations of the building of the developed socialist society. Only at this stage have its shape, developmental tendencies, and prospects come into focus.

Thus, the completion of the lengthy process of formation of the Soviet people is linked to the transformation of a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a state of all the people, and the transformation of a party of the working class into the party of the whole people, the complete and final victory of socialism; hence, the uniting of the Soviet people in a new historic entity has taken place along with the building of mature socialism--that is, in the late 1950's and the early 1960's.

The 22nd CPSU Congress summarized the experience of development of relationships among the socialist nations and nationalities under mature socialism and noted for the first time that a new historic human entity had come into being in the Soviet Union--the Soviet people, whose basic characteristics are: a common socialist homeland, the USSR; a common economic base, the socialist economy; a common social-class structure; a common world view--Marxist-Leninism; common traits of spiritual life--a unified Soviet culture, socialist in content and national in form; in psychology, a single sense of family; and a common goal--the building of a communist society.

The 23rd CPSU Congress focused attention on the most important characteristics of the Soviet people, its multinational character. In the CPSU CC report, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that the strengthening of the friendship and unity of the multinational Soviet people and the deepening and broadening

of the economic and cultural relationships among its constituent socialist nations and nationalities would continue to be the most important task of the CPSU.

A profound theoretical analysis of the historic process of the further development and perfection of the Soviet people is presented in the decisions of the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses and the new USSR Constitution.

The 25th CPSU Congress emphasized that in the years of the Soviet people's heroic struggle and efforts to build a new society an unshakable unity of all of our country's classes and social groups, nations, and nationalities was created and tempered. This unity and alliance is the foundation of foundations of the historic human entity--the Soviet people, the most important feature of the Soviet way of life, one which has entered the very marrow of our reality.

The formation of the new historic human entity is declared to be one of the most basic characteristics of developed socialist society in the new USSR Constitution, which states: "It is a society of mature socialist social relationships in which a new historic human entity has come into being--the Soviet people--on the basis of rapprochement of all classes and social strata, the de-jure and de facto equality of all nations and nationalities, and fraternal cooperation." (Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), Tbilisi, 1977, pp 4-5).

The economic basis of the formation and development of the Soviet people is the socialist system of production, a strong and unified national-economy complex which encompasses the national economies of all the union republics. It is developed in accordance with a unified state plan on the basis of the interests of the whole country and of each Soviet republic, combining the advantages of the socialist organization of society with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution.

The strength of the national-economy complex that has been created on a nationwide scale is attested by the fact that in the past decade our country's economic potential, created in the course of the preceding half century, has practically doubled. This unified economic organism is the firm material foundation of the new historic human entity, the friendship and cooperation of the peoples of the USSR.

The prime condition for the optimal administration of the USSR's national-economy complex is the harmonious reconciliation of the economic interests of the whole Soviet people with the specific economic interests of the Soviet republics, of all nations and nationalities. In the process of creating the material-technical base of communism, careful attention to overall and local interests, factual equality of all nations and nationalities, and further equalization of their economic development levels constitute one of the basic premises of the CPSU's unswerving implementation of the Leninist nationality policy.

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Under conditions of mature socialism and the modern scientific-technical revolution, it is of vital importance to the economic development of the union republics to ensure the growth of the national economy not only in terms of quantity but also quality--in particular, the development of progressive spheres of production and the implementation of basic structural changes in the sphere of economic life.

The strengthening of the USSR's unified national-economy complex, the rational deployment of productive forces, the rational distribution of natural and labor resources, and the improvement of production quality and effectiveness all serve to boost the economic potential of the Soviet republics and enhance their role and importance in the nation's cause of the building of communism. Broadening and deepening of economic relationships among the fraternal peoples under developed socialism will strengthen even more the economic basis of Leninist friendship and brotherhood among the peoples.

The firm social basis of the Soviet people as a new historic human entity is the unshakable alliance of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia, in which the guiding role is assigned to the Soviet people's uniting social force--the working class. The new historic human entity has come into being and is developing on the basis of broadening the social base of Soviet society and strengthening its social-political unity; in this, the key role is played by the working class. "It is the working class," remarked L. I. Brezhnev, "which by its nature is the most internationalist class, playing a key role in the rapprochement of all of our country's nations and nationalities." ("Fifty Years of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," Tbilisi, 1972, page 26).

The political basis of the Soviet people's development and consolidation is the multinational socialist Soviet state, the common socialist homeland of Soviet citizens of all nationalities.

Our new constitution states that the USSR is a socialist state of all the people, which reflects the interests of the whole people--the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, all of the country's nations and nationalities. The Soviet people exercise state power through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitutes the political basis of the USSR. The Soviets of People's Deputies--the most massive organs of Soviet power--superbly reflect the profoundly internationalist nature of the socialist state. It is sufficient to note that 2.2 million deputies of more than 100 nationalities have been elected to local Soviets of People's Deputies and that in addition to 1.8 million deputies 2.6 million citizens and activists of various nationalities are taking part in the work of the permanent commissions of the soviets.

Being the most democratic bodies, the Soviets of People's Deputies rally the working people of all classes and social strata, of all nations and nationalities, around the working class and the Communist Party.

The ideological basis of the new historic human entity is Marxism-Leninism, which reflects the internationalist class aims and tasks of the working people of all nationalities. As V. I. Lenin pointed out, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism awaken the class consciousness of the working people and unite them in shared tasks and goals.

An essential condition for the strengthening of the triumphant progress of the Soviet people and its internationalist unity is the creative development and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of generalizing new historical experience, the struggle for the purity of communist ideology against any kind of opportunism and right-wing or "left-wing" revisionism.

Finally, the social-psychological basis of the formation of the Soviet people as a new historic human entity is the sense of a single Soviet family, a consciousness of shared national pride.

The consciousness and psychology of Soviet citizens has been essentially transformed on the basis of the unity of communist ideals and the socialist way of life. The Soviet people have acquired such remarkable traits as faithfulness to the cause of communism, socialist patriotism and internationalism, high labor and social-political involvement, mutual help, intolerance to national or racial prejudice, and class solidarity with the working people of all countries. We may state confidently, therefore, that the world has never before known the kind of unshakable unity of interests and aims, will and actions, the kind of spiritual and psychological affinity in the relationships among dozens of nations and nationalities, that characterize the Soviet people.

In the shaping of an internationalist consciousness, psychology, and morality, great importance attaches to instilling in Soviet citizens a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, a sense of belonging to the Soviet people, and a consciousness of shared national pride. At an all-union scientific-practical conference held in Tbilisi in October 1976, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze rightly noted: "One of the chief and most essential features of internationalist indoctrination of the workers is that of instilling in the working people the feeling that they belong to the Soviet people, a new historic human entity. Whereas the sense of belonging to one's own nation has been passed down from generation to generation, the sense of belonging to the Soviet people, a new historic human entity, is a new social feeling given birth by the Soviet way of life, by Soviet reality. Therefore, the necessity of stepping up efforts along these lines and focusing attention on the problem is dictated by life itself."

The basic distinguishing feature of the Soviet people--a new historic human entity--is that it is a social-political and social-class entity of a new type, one which embraces all classes, social strata, nations, and nationalities of Soviet society. It is an inter-class, multinational entity whose



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birth signals a new kind of social structure of society and constitutes one of the basic criteria of the maturity of developed socialism.

We find the concept Soviet people in our scientific and propagandistic literature as early as the 1920's, but at that time the term designated the political unification of the Soviet peoples as a state. As for the Soviet people as a new historic human entity, it is the product of a whole complex of social relations under mature socialism and, consequently, national relations; it is the result of internationalization of all aspects of social life.

At the present stage of the building of communism, the basic logical trends of the further development of the Soviet people include the harmonious unification of the national and the international, the correct reconciliation of all-union and republic interests, the deepening and broadening of international relationships in all spheres of social life, intensive rapprochement of the Soviet nations and nationalities on the basis of their all-round development, deep inculcation in citizens' consciousness and psychology of a sense of belonging to the Soviet people and a feeling of pride in the whole nation, and so on. The developed socialist society creates all of the conditions necessary for the maximum delineation of these trends and their practical realization in life.

The harmonious reconciliation of the national and the international in all spheres of social life and the dialectical unity of nationwide and local interests are superbly confirmed in Soviet Georgia--one of the founding republics of the fraternal union of peoples, where representatives of more than 80 nations and nationalities live side by side and work together in communist labor.

Thanks to the Communist Party's unswerving implementation of the Leninist nationality policy, in a historically short time Georgia has been transformed from a backward colonial possession of the Russian Empire into an industrially and agriculturally well-developed and scientifically and culturally advanced republic. Along with the rise of its economic potential, the Georgian SSR has made an increasingly important contribution to the common cause of the building of communism. Our republic's contacts and relationships with the fraternal republics, the countrys of the socialist camp, and many other countries in the world have been expanding and developing in many aspects year by year.

In the years of Soviet rule, more than 1,200 large industrial enterprises have been built in Georgia, sending products to all regions of our country and to more than 100 countries in the world. Georgia now produces more goods in two days than in the entire year 1920. Industrial output in the Soviet period has risen more than 162-fold. Soviet Georgia now generates more electricity than did all of Russia's power plants before the October Revolution. A large number of new sectors of industry have been created in Georgia; and as a result the working class under Soviet rule has grown from

50,000 to 1 million. Of these, more than 600,000 are Georgians, while the rest are of various nationalities.

Soviet Georgia's national income has more than doubled in the past 15 years. The per capita national income rose by 20 percent compared to the five-year plan target of 12.4 percent, and this year's plan calls for a rise of 26.6 percent versus the targeted 17.8 percent. A similar proportion will obtain in the dynamics of usable national income. The most important indicator of social production effectiveness--social labor productivity--rose by 18 percent in the past three years, and 30.1 percent in accordance with the four-year plan, surpassing five-year plan targets by 4.5 and 6.7 percent, respectively.

All the peoples of our multinational republic have been highly successful in economic and social-cultural development. It is sufficient to note that the volume of industrial output in 1977 was more than 10 times greater than in the prewar year 1940 in the Abkhazian ASSR and almost 30 times greater in the South Ossetian AO.

Such are the real, tangible results, in the language of economics, of the implementation of the Leninist nationality policy and the strengthening and development of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

Under developed socialism, Georgian culture, national in form and socialist in content, has flourished as never before. In terms of many indicators of scientific and cultural development, Soviet Georgia holds a leading place in the world. The republic's scientific institutions employ more than 25,000 scientists. In the 58 years of Soviet rule, the republic's higher educational institutions have trained and given to the national economy more than 600,000 specialists. The population's cultural needs are served by 2,259 clubs and houses of culture, 81 museums, 23 professional theaters, 1,965 movie theaters, and 3,858 libraries with holdings of about 30 million volumes. In the three centuries prior to the establishment of Soviet rule, Georgia published 6,000 book titles with a total printing of 1 million. Today the republic's 11 publishing houses annually release an average of 2,350 titles totaling 16.4 million copies. "We must remember," said Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze at the 26 June 1979 party aktiv meeting, "that the Georgian nation's finest national aspirations have been realized under the conditions of the internationalist fraternity of the peoples of the Land of the Soviets. Such is the dialectics of national and internationalist principles."

In the strengthening of the internationalist and cultural unity of the multinational Soviet people, a vital role is played by the Russian language--the language of cooperation among the peoples of the USSR and of international communication. The intensive relationships among the peoples of the USSR in all spheres of social life have made Russian the language of fraternal cooperation and friendship among the peoples. At the same time, there is an ongoing process of consolidation and development of the national

languages. According to data of the last census, the number of persons who report the language of their own nationality as their mother tongue has risen. Some 3.2 to 5 million persons--68.8 percent of the republic's population--consider Georgian their mother tongue, whereas Georgians constitute only 66.8 percent of the total population. Some 174,089 persons--3.7 percent of the republic's population--speak Georgian fluently and consider it a second language of the peoples of the USSR.

In a statement submitted for discussion at a meeting of the Society to Promote Literacy Among Georgians in November 1879, the outstanding Georgian pedagogue and social figure I. Gogebashvili wrote: "In all Tbilisi there is just one Georgian public school. For this reason, young Georgians of our capital city either lack instruction entirely or have to go to foreign schools, where the intellect is impaired and the language deteriorates."

Only after the establishment of Soviet rule was the Georgian people given the opportunity for instruction and education in the native language. In our republic, in addition to Georgian newspapers and books are published in Russian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Abkhazian, and Ossetian. There are regular radio and television broadcasts in the languages of the peoples living in the republic; creative unions of writers, composers, artists, architects, and journalists, and theatrical societies or branches of them, have been formed in Abkhazia, Adzharia, and South Ossetia; national sections are affiliated with the Georgian writers' union, and literary almanacs and collections appear in the different languages.

Nevertheless, as was pointed out at the 25th GCP Congress, the educational and cultural level of some of the national minorities is below the republic-wide indicator. In the future, therefore, we must approach problems of development of the national minorities living in the republic with even more care and differentiation.

Bright confirmation of the vitality of the Leninist nationality policy is seen in the CPSU CC decrees concerning the work of the Tbilisi Gorkom and the republic's party organization on measures to further develop Georgia's national economy and measures to further develop the economy and culture of the Abkhazian ASSR, the GCP CC and GSSR Council of Ministers decree "Measures to Further Develop the Economy and Culture of the South Ossetian AO," and others, the implementation of which will further strengthen and consolidate the economic, social-political, and cultural-ideological foundations of Leninist friendship and internationalist unity.

The bourgeois ideologues and falsifiers of the Leninist nationality policy are portraying the historic process of the rise and development of the multinational Soviet people--that new social-political human entity--as an alleged "russification" and "denationalization" of the socialist nations of the USSR resulting in their forcible absorption and, on this basis, some kind of single "Soviet Russian-type supnation."

A. Bramberg, editor of the well-known anticommunist journal PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, tries to "prove" that the Soviet Union's nationality question remains unsolved to this day, so that, in his opinion, "the traditional conflict between local nationalism and the official policy of assimilation" is increasing, "posing a great danger to Soviet rule." L. Tillett, another anticommunist, writes in the same journal that the very idea of a multinational human entity is unacceptable, because such an entity is incompatible with the psychophysical specifics of peoples.

In 1975, a collective work under the overall title "Ethnicity" was published in the United States. This included papers and reports delivered by well-known American sociologists T. Parsons, M. Kilson, O. Patterson, M. Gordon, R. Pipes, and others in connection with a conference on international ethnic problems organized by the Ford Foundation. During the conference another new trend in American bourgeois sociology emerged. The aim of the purveyors of this trend is a political and sociological analysis of the characteristics of development of the whole complex of world nationality problems, to shift attention to the process of "desocialization of ethnic groups," so that they may drift away from the sphere of class relationships and struggle. T. Parsons, for example, declares the nation to be the most mature form of ethnos and attempts to use it against those who, in his words, emphasize the primacy of class in the sphere of social relations. Bourgeois nationalist ideology representatives K. Davis, A. Lowe, P. Urban, and others attempt to distort the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory, program, and policy with regard to nationality questions and argue that Marxism-Leninism ignores a nation's interests when it subordinates national questions to the themes and tasks of the class struggle of the proletariat.

In reality, however, the experience of history shows us that only through the class struggle of the proletariat, through the socialist revolution, is it possible to liquidate social and national oppression and resolve the nationality question fully and completely.

Under mature socialism, the dialectics of the development of national relations and the practice of implementation of the Leninist nationality policy reveal the bourgeois falsifiers' erroneous interpretation of the correlation between socialist nations and nationalities and the national and the international in the development of the Soviet people, the merging of nations and the creation of a single "Soviet nation."

At the extraordinary Seventh Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated "As is well known, a new historic human entity has come into being in the Soviet Union--the Soviet people. Some comrades--a very few, to be sure--have drawn an erroneous conclusion from this. They suggest that we introduce into the constitution the concept of a single Soviet NATION, that we abolish the union and autonomous republic or sharply restrict the sovereignty of the union republics and abolish their right to secede from the USSR and maintain foreign relations. Of the same stripe are proposals to abolish the Soviet of Nationalities and create a one-chamber Supreme Soviet. I think the erroneousness of these proposals is

obvious. The social-political unification of the Soviet people by means entails the disappearance of national differences... The friendship of the Soviet peoples is unshakable. They are coming closer and closer together in the process of building communism; their spiritual life is becoming mutually enriched. But we would be following a dangerous path if we were to begin to speed up this objective process of the rapprochement of nations. V. I. Lenin insistently warned us about this, and we will not depart from his legacy." ("Draft of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Results of Nationwide Discussion of It," Tbilisi, 1977, page 13).

V. I. Lenin pointed out more than once that the voluntary rapprochement of nations can take place only through the complete rebirth and flourishing of the formerly oppressed peoples and by deepening and broadening the national cultures and languages and international, internationalist relationships. The building of a developed socialist society by no means entails the absorption of nations and nationalities. National differences will persist for a long time before nations leave the arena of history and give way to a nationless society. Under developed socialism, therefore, to strengthen the internationalist unity of the Soviet people it is very important to take proper account of specific national traits and characteristics and ensure harmonious reconciliation of the national and the international, of nationwide and local interests.

The main political force which unites all of our country's classes, social strata, nations and nationalities into a new historic and internationalist entity is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the party of Leninist internationalists, which is the true embodiment of the social-political unity of the multinational soviet people, the inspirer and organizer of the Leninist friendship and internationalist unity of peoples.

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IDEOLOGICAL WORK PROGRESS, PROBLEMS IN ABKHAZIA

Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI in Georgian No 9, Sep 79 pp 28-36

[Article by Abkhazian Obkom First Secretary B. Adleiba under rubric "The Ideological Front: Tasks and Prospects": "The True Compass of Ideological Activities"]

[Text] Almost five months have passed since the CPSU CC passed the decree "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work." The republic's party organizations have done a great deal to implement it. How this programmatic decree is being implemented in Abkhazia is the topic of Abkhazian Obkom First Secretary B. B. Adleiba's article. (Transcribed by I. Tkeshelashvili).

The CPSU CC decree "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work" is a document of great political and practical importance in our time. This programmatic decree elaborates the postulates and conclusions of the 25th CPSU Congress and subsequent decisions of the Central Committee regarding the integrated resolution of ideological-indoctrination problems. The tasks of Abkhazia's party members with regard to unconditional implementation of this decree were discussed by us at the Fourth Plenum of the Abkhazian Obkom, plenums of the party's city and rayon committees, and meetings of the primary organizations. The discussions showed that all of Abkhazia's party members and workers have perceived this decree as a most important political document, as a compass showing the right way to further perfect and develop our ideological work among the masses.

On the basis of the ideological content of the CPSU CC's 26th April decree and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and books "Malaya zemlya," "Rebirth," "Virgin Lands" Abkhazia's party organizations have done considerable work on improving their ideological-indoctrination activity and raising its effectiveness.

In its efforts to implement the decisions of party congresses and the CPSU CC's decrees concerning the Georgian party organization, Abkhazia's oblast party organization is attempting even more diligently to perfect its ideological work. Solid prerequisites have been created for this. Party committees and ideological institutions have set about to implement current and long-range integrated ideological-political work plans.

As was to be expected, improved ideological and political-indoctrination work has in many ways helped in realizing our national economy plans. For instance, industry workers completed the program of the first three years of the Tenth-Five Year Plan ahead of schedule and produced 33 million rubles of goods above the plan for their homeland. This year's seven-month targets were also fulfilled. We have achieved success in agriculture, especially tea and citrus farming. The pace of capital construction has quickened. All of this is largely due to the fact that we have managed to create a rather solid industrial base.

In further perfecting ideological work, we have been greatly helped by the decisions of the recent meeting of Georgia's party aktiv, especially Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze's report at the meeting "Let us Implement the CPSU CC decree 'Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work.'" They have required that we ensure a high scientific level of propaganda and agitation, that we strengthen their effectiveness and concreteness, ensure close links to real life, and strive for unity of economic and political tasks.

Abkhazia's working people were greatly gratified and politically inspired by the fact that on the basis of last year's results our autonomous republic was a victor in all-union socialist competition and was awarded the challenge Red Banner. This means that the party and the government are paying attention to Abkhazia's working people and appreciate their work.

The wisdom of the Leninist nationality policy, which is being implemented by the CPSU CC under the guidance of that outstanding party and state figure Comrade Brezhnev, is once more manifested in the fact that last year the CPSU CC and the USSR Council of Ministers passed the decree, of historic significance to our autonomous republic, concerning the economic and cultural development of the Abkhazian ASSR; this decree has evoked in our working people a sense of profound gratitude and the will to achieve new success in the building of Communism.

A little more than a year has gone by since that remarkable document was passed. A little while ago at the Obkom plenum we heard a report concerning the current status of the implementation of that decree and the CPSU CC decree concerning the further development of the economy and culture of the Abkhazian ASSR and measures to strengthen organizational and ideological-indoctrination work among the working people of the autonomous republic.

Discussion of the matter showed that we have achieved a certain amount of success along these lines. At the same time, however, we are well aware that many reserves have yet to be put into action, that we have not utilized all our capabilities. The whole spirit of Abkhazia's 34th Oblast Party Conference and CPSU CC Politburo Candidate Member and GCP CC First Secretary Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze's speech at that conference were infused with an implacable passion against anything which hampers our rapid forward progress. In this regard, one of our main tasks is to overcome the shortcomings in our ideological work.

The mistakes we made in the internationalist indoctrination of the workers, especially young people, gave the GCP CC every reason to emphasize in the decree concerning the Abkhazian ASSR that the internationalist indoctrination of the working people in the autonomous republic has not always paid off, has not achieved the desired effect.

Thanks to the constant help of the CPSU CC and the GCP CC in recent times we have implemented a large number of measures to correct the situation.

Considering that the heart and spirit of the ideological-political indoctrination of the masses is their mastery of Marxist-Leninist theory, Abkhazia's party organizations have focused attention on improving the instruction in the political and economic education system and on further strengthening the link between instruction and the resolution of economic and cultural tasks. Control of the course of instruction has been strengthened. In the last while the obkom has discussed the state of Marxist-Leninist instruction in the Tkvarcheli, Gali and Gagra party organizations, the Sukhumi City Komsomol Organization, and the party organizations in several big enterprises and construction projects and taken measures to improve it.

At present about 3,000 lecturers of the party and Komsomol committees and the Znaniye Society are conducting propaganda lectures. Obkom, gorkom, and raykom lecturers are now presenting more frequent lecture cycles, arranging out-of-town lecture series, social-political readings, thematic evenings, and scientific-political conferences. A lecturer refresher course has been set up under the obkom. However, the quality of lecture propaganda is not yet up to today's requirements. In this matter we will have to exercise more control; we will have to certify lecturers and upgrade their qualifications.

In carrying out integrated ideological-indoctrination work, the party attaches great importance to political agitation. The CPSU CC has directed party committees to diligently improve mass-political work in the labor collectives and places of residence, to reinforce agitator, political information, lecturer, and speaker staffs with party and Komsomol members from the ranks of leading workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, specialists, and cultural figures, and to make more active use of visual aids.



Despite considerable success in this matter, we still have serious shortcomings. Both verbal and visual agitation in the autonomous republic is substantially below today's requirements. In many places, not enough concern is shown for the selection and instruction of agitators and political information specialists, and mass-political work is considered to be of low priority.

The mass information and propaganda media in Abkhazia have been developing rapidly, especially in recent times. New journals have been established, and a big event in the social-political and cultural life of the autonomous republic was the establishment of its own television broadcasting.

It must be admitted, nevertheless, that our newspapers, journals, television, and radio lack consistency and purposefulness in elucidating many vital problems. This is especially true of the implementation of the party's and government's decrees concerning the Abkhazian ASSR. The newspapers and radio broadcasts do not adequately reflect the current state of socialist competition, the spread of advanced experience, and the workers' efforts to improve work quality and effectiveness. Criticism has not been effective enough. It must also be admitted that the obkom's departments are not working diligently enough. In the future, party committees will have to pay more attention to the job of enhancing the authority of the press; they will have to work hard to root out shortcomings, to promote the expansion of criticism and self-criticism in the press.

An essential prerequisite for success in all indoctrination work is close interaction between ideological-political and labor indoctrination. In this matter, the party attaches great importance to socialist competition and its highest form--the movement for a communist attitude toward labor. The autonomous republic's party organizations are implementing serious measures to further develop labor rivalry and to disseminate innovative initiatives and the use of various forms and methods of incentive for economic leaders.

Vital experience in worker indoctrination has been acquired by the labor collectives of the Sukhumpribor Plant, the leather and footwear combine, the locomotive depot, the sewn goods mill, the mining administrations imeni V. I. Lenin and N. Lakoba, the Gudautskiy Rayon Order of Lenin Duripshi Kolkhoz, the Ochamchirskiy Rayon Mokvi Tea Sovkhoz, and others. They have emerged as front-runners in competition in the struggle to successfully complete the target of the 10th Five-Year Plan.

Unfortunately, we still have too many enterprises, construction projects, and farms where competition lacks mass character and openness, where people are not concerned for the labor indoctrination of the collectives and put up with considerable losses of work time and other violations due to absenteeism and idleness. Some enterprises have forgotten the Rustavi workers' patriotic initiative "Not One Lagging or Undisciplined Worker Alongside Us!" and other good initiatives. All of this is the result of an irresponsible attitude toward labor indoctrination. Some party organizations and administrations are not doing enough to combat indolence and

mismanagement; they are apathetic toward this vital matter. For instance, competition's indoctrinating functions are not properly appreciated on Kolkhoz imeni XXV S'yezd KPSS in Tagiloni and Kolkhoz imeni Rustaveli in Achigvari (Gal'skiy Rayon), Kolkhoz imeni S. Chanba in Atari and Apsni Kolkhoz in Gupi (Ochamchirskiy Rayon), and the Sukhumi Tobacco Factory. In the Sukhumi Fish Combine frequent catch-up campaigns have replaced rhythmic work organization, competition results are not regularly posted, and the collective knows nothing about its effectiveness.

There are other serious shortcomings in the communist indoctrination of the workers, and all too frequently we observe negative phenomena and violations of the rules of socialist life and the norms of communist morality. The Abkhazian Obkom Second Plenum (1979), which heard reports by administration officials, rightly noted that violations of the law are not diminishing and that the fight against crime is still an acute problem.

Recently, cases of pilfering of the people's property have come to light in the Ochamchire Poultry Plant, the Gagra Zone Druzhba Kolkhoz, the Sukhumi Meat Combine and some other organizations.

It seems perfectly clear to us that the vital condition for rooting out crime and other negative phenomena is to create a healthy moral-psychological atmosphere in each labor collective, in each neighborhood.

It is essential every step of the way to root out all wrongdoing and inform the workers not only of labor successes but also the current status of ideological-indoctrination work. All of our attention is now focused on maximizing the use of public opinion, nipping crimes in the bud, and carrying out preventive measures. We must not forget for a second that the main goal of the GCP CC is to liquidate all negative phenomena once and for all.

Strong efforts are being made against harmful traditions and customs. In this regard many good decisions have been made, but we have not yet gotten rid of campaignism and sporadic catch-ups. At the same time, unfortunately, we have as yet done very little to establish new socialist customs. Thus we are leaving a vacuum to be filled by the carriers of harmful patriarchalism, the clergy, and all manner of suspicious elements. This is also worsened by the fact that scientific-atheistic propaganda has slackened in many places. One of our party duties is to wage systematic and aggressive efforts to liberate people's minds from the opium of religion, to activate atheistic activities, and to enhance the workers' culture.

In order to instill in every party member, Komsomol, and worker an active life stance and an intolerance toward any phenomenon that is incompatible with our Soviet way of life, it is essential to enhance education and culture further. This requires the broad development of social science and the publication of various kinds of literature. Significant progress has been made in recent years in Abkhazia. Substantial attention has been

focused on new research in economics, history, and other social sciences and on translating important works into Abkhazian for publication. For example, "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" has already appeared in Abkhazian, and a textbook of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is in preparation. Scholars of the Institute of Abkhazian Language, Literature, and History imeni D. Gulia have published a number of works. Among them, special mention should be made of GSSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Professor G. Dzidzaria's capital monograph "The Emigration and Problems of the History of 19th-Century Abkhazia," which won the GSSR State Prize. Also in preparation are "History of the Abkhazian Party Organization," "A Short Sketch of Abkhazian History From Ancient Times to the Present," and "Abkhazian History in the Soviet Period" in two parts (on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet rule in Abkhazia).

At the same time, some of our scholars need to refine their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist methodology in interpreting the history of their native region. In this regard, great importance attaches to extensive contacts between Abkhazia's multinational detachment of scholars and their colleagues in our republic's capital city Tbilisi, in Adzharia, South Ossetia, and other scientific centers of our country. One interesting recent event was the meeting of Georgia's scientific historians in Borzhomi, which played a vital role in improving coordination of their efforts. This is especially important for the scholars of our autonomous republic; they must continue to elucidate current questions of Abkhazian history according to plan.

In the future we must expect more creative effort from our economists, philosophers, and specialists in other social disciplines. At present, for example, there is an acute lack of works which present a profound analysis and generalization of problems relating to organization of labor and material and moral incentive in various sectors of subtropical agriculture.

Standards have been raised in our higher educational establishments, schools, and technicums. Abkhazia now has two higher educational establishments--the Abkhazian State University imeni A. M. Gor'kiy and the Georgian Subtropical Agriculture Institute. Regardless of their specific functions, both of them face general problems as well: The tasks of the current stage of the building of communism require further improvement of the training and indoctrination of specialists. Under conditions of rapid growth of production--and this is especially characteristic of Abkhazia today--there is a big demand for highly-qualified cadres who are skilled in running production processes and are capable of handling the tasks of scientific organization of labor efficiently. We are focusing serious attention on enhancing the role of the party organizations of the higher educational establishments, for they are responsible for properly organizing the training and ideological-political indoctrination of future specialists.

In the training of cadres for Abkhazia's economic and cultural centers a vital role is assigned to the secondary specialized institutions, which are training hundreds of specialists yearly. About 2,000 young qualified workers are coming into the national economy from the vocational-technical schools. This is a significant source of labor resources, yet here again the task of perfecting the training and indoctrination process is an acute one. In the autonomous republic the teaching staffs of many general-education schools are doing fruitful work and utilizing all their knowledge and experience on behalf of their pupils, sharing with them achievements in science, technology, and culture, and instilling a love of labor. Nevertheless, in the activities of the public education bodies, teaching staffs, and party, Komsomol, and Pioneer organizations we still find serious gaps in the training and indoctrination of children and young people. Almost three-quarters of them are getting mediocre grades or are failing certain subjects. There are serious shortcomings in the ideological-moral indoctrination of the students, shortcomings which are frequently ignored by the Abkhazian ASSR Education Ministry and its local bodies. For their part, the gorkoms and raykoms will have to improve the combativeness of the school primary organizations. To intensify party influence on all aspects of educational endeavor is one of our most urgent tasks.

Literature and art have a large and honored role in the communist indoctrination and spiritual shaping of Soviet men. Our autonomous republic's culture has flowered in the years of Soviet rule. This has been greatly influenced by the culture of the peoples of the USSR, especially the great Russian and brotherly Georgian peoples.

In recent times, Abkhazian literature and art have achieved new creative successes. Our popular poet B. Shinkuba's historical novel "The Last Ubykh" has been published in Russian. The translation was done by prominent Soviet writers K. Simonov and I. Kozlovskiy. This novel has been published in Georgian and the languages of other peoples. Recently, popular writer I. Papaskiri published a new story "Man and Fatherland." Readers have also greeted works by other authors with great interest.

The party's and government's historic decrees concerning the Abkhazian ASSR are impelling our cultural figures to new fruitful endeavor, new themes, new directions. Our writers' main task is to elevate literature to the level of the social-economic and spiritual transformations characterizing developed socialism, to portray by artistic means the images of those actively fighting our communist ideals.

It is essential that we continue the internationalist traditions of Abkhazia's literary and arts figures meeting with the broad masses of readers in Tbilisi, Adzharia, South Ossetia, and other fraternal republics, oblasts, and cities.

Recently, Abkhazian Music Days met with resounding success in Tbilisi, Rustavi, and Telavi. Music lovers in these cities had high praise for the

growing professionalism of Abkhazia's composers and the masterful performance of the Abkhazian State Choir. The Abkhazian State Dramatic Theater named S. Chanba won the hearts of the workers of Makharadzevskiy Rayon in late June when they took part in the thematic festival "Village Life on the Theater Stage." The residents of Sukhumi showed great interest in an exhibition of the works of Georgian women artists dedicated to 8 March, International Women's Day. We could cite many such examples of creative internationalist contacts.

There are still many unresolved problems in the efforts of both the Abkhazian and the Georgian theater. This applies especially to the ideological and professional indoctrination of the actors, well-considered selection of the plays, and improvement of the ideas and artistry of the performances. Unfortunately, neither of the collectives' repertoires adequately depict themes of peoples' friendship today. The work of the directors also needs improvement.

The network of cultural and educational establishments in the autonomous republic is getting larger year by year. We have cultural centers doing substantial creative work and competently meeting the growing needs of the working people; unfortunately, however, there are not enough such centers. Many clubs and libraries are working as they always did and failing to assist the party organizations in indoctrinating the workers. This means we must focus more attention on their everyday activities.

One of our main tasks is work with young people. We must instill in every young person civic maturity and a sense of responsibility to society. On the basis of the party's directives and L. I. Brezhnev's statements at the 18th All-Union Komsomol Conference the party obkom is striving to transform the work of the Abkhazian Komsomol organization, to discern the needs and requirements of young people, and to help the party more actively in the communist indoctrination of the rising generation. The accomplishments being made every day in Abkhazia's economic and cultural development testify to the great transforming power of the Leninist nationality policy. Questions of patriotic and internationalist indoctrination hold a prominent place in the oblast party organization's efforts. Various forms and methods are being used in this vital matter. The development of patriotic and internationalist feelings is being well facilitated by the Abkhazian working people's socialist competition with the workers of the fraternal republic and oblasts. Engaged in fruitful competition with one another, for example, are the workers of the cities of Sukhumi, Batumi, and Kirovakan and the workers of Gudautskiy, Tskhakayevskiy, and Skadovskiy (Khersonskaya Oblast, Ukrainian SSR) rayons. Ochamchirskiy Rayon is in competition with Abashskiy Rayon and with Armenia's Idzhevskiy and Azerbaijan's Lenkoranskii rayons; Gal'skiy Rayon is in competition with Terzhol'skiy Rayon; Gulripshskiy Rayon is in competition with Kedskiy Rayon; Sukhumskiy Rayon is in competition with Khelvachaurskiy Rayon; Tkvarchel'skiy Rayon with Tkibul'skiy Rayon; and Gagrskiy Rayon with Kobuletskiy Rayon. Participants in the competition are sharing their experience with one another and helping to achieve new goals.

Along with all the peoples of our multinational homeland the Abkhazian people are absolutely faithful to their beloved Party of Lenin and the magnificent friendship of the Soviet nations. We will continue to cherish the unshakable, brotherly friendship of the peoples of the USSR and help to strengthen it. We must struggle even more diligently for the patriotic and internationalist indoctrination of the working people. We must show more vigilance and never allow a single attempt to cast aspersions on the representatives of other nations and nationalities, a single case of ethnic prejudice, to go unanswered.

It is possible to further improve all ideological work by constantly perfecting the style and methods of the activities of the party committees. Practice shows that our gorkoms and raykoms have not yet managed to transform their work in the field of propaganda and agitation and communist indoctrination of the working people in accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th GCP Congress. The situation will have to be corrected promptly.

B. Adleiba noted in conclusion: In implementing the CPSU CC decree "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work" we sense keenly that many of the shortcomings mentioned in it are also characteristic of the Abkhazian Oblast party organization. Our ideological-indoctrination efforts frequently lack effectiveness and boldness in the examination of current problems of social life and in the struggle against harmful vestiges of the past. We do not always take account of the exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the international arena. The CPSU CC's decree maps out for us the way to eliminate these shortcomings as soon as possible. We will resolve these tasks through the use of tried and true forms and methods of political, organizational, and ideological-indoctrination work. Abkhazia's party organization will continue to strengthen the combativeness of its ranks, to strengthen the will and resolve of party members and all the working people to work with more dedication and more effectively for the happiness and welfare of their beloved homeland.

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CADRE POLICY PROGRESS, PROBLEMS IN DMANISSKIY RAYON

Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS KOMUNISTI in Georgian No 9, Sep 1979 pp 46-53

[Article by Dmanisskiy Raykom First Secretary G. Kulidzhaniashvili under rubric "Party Life: Cadres--Responsibility, Combativeness, Competence": "Up to Today's Needs"]

[Text] In our party's activities, the main focus is on political leadership in all spheres of the life of developed socialist society and the formulation and implementation of the correct political course. This, in turn, depends entirely on people; on their organizational work.

V. I. Lenin taught that policies are carried out by people. Consequently, work with people, with cadres, their correct selection and placement, has always been the basic condition of implementing the party's political course. This is why at the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized: "The powerful lever by which the party influences the course of social development is its policy in regards to cadres" ("Materials of the 25th CPSU Congress," Tbilisi, 1976, p 96).

Naturally, work with cadres, further improvement of cadre policy, and unswerving compliance with Leninist principles along these lines also constitute the concern of our rayon party organization. It is sufficient to note that in the past three years the raykom has on 15 occasions discussed problems of improving cadre work. The raykom's bureau has held principled discussions of these problems: "Cadre Selection and Placement in the Executive Committee of the Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies in Accordance with the CPSU CC Decree Concerning Georgia's Party Organization," "Cadre Selection, Indoctrination, and Placement in the Gomareti Sovkhoz Party Committee and in the Primary Party Organizations of the Irganchai Livestock Sovkhoz and the Rayon Hospital and Efforts to Raise Cadre Responsibility for their Assigned Task," and "Participation in the Communist Indoctrination of the Working People by Leadership Cadres and National Economy Specialists." These discussions have had a beneficial effect on the further strengthening of the Leninist style of party work, on the development of intraparty democracy, enhancement of the combativeness of the primary party organizations and strengthening of the political leadership of state and social organizations.

In implementing cadre policy, the raykom and the primary party organizations are taking the integrated approach to this matter; they are bringing to the forefront the task of selecting cadres carefully on the basis of their business and moral qualities and organizational capacities as revealed in practical performance.

The source of our cadres' strength is their communist ideological integrity. In this regard, special importance attaches to the CPSU CC's programmatic decree "Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Indoctrination Work," which assigns us the task of helping cadres to master the science of Marxism-Leninism, helping them to get a clear grasp of social-political events and formulate a precise class orientation to them.

The raykom is now carrying out important integrated measures to implement this programmatic decree. The aim of these efforts is to make revolutionary theory and a knowledge of the party's policy the credo of workers in all links, an active position in the struggle against any manifestations of ideology that are alien to communism, a guideline of action for resolving the pressing problems of social life.

Raising our cadres' consciousness, their labor and political indoctrination, is one of the main conditions for successfully carrying out the tasks of the building of communism. At the present stage, therefore, when the party organizations have begun to prepare for the new school year in the political education system, we are focusing prime attention on improvement of the cadres' political education, on raising the ideological-theoretical level of the learning process, making its content more profound, and strengthening its world-view orientation. New subjects will be introduced in theoretical seminars for leadership cadres: "Developed Socialism: Problems of Theory and Practice," "The Economic Policy of the CPSU," "Agrarian Theory and Policy of the CPSU," and "The Socialist Way of Life." On the one hand this will substantially enlarge our party organization's capabilities and make it possible for us to take a differentiated approach to the political training of cadres and specialists in various spheres of the national economy and link Marxist-Leninist theory instruction directly to the practical building of communism; on the other hand, it will make it possible for leadership personnel to broaden their ideological-political and cultural horizons, take more profound approach to the organization of indoctrination work among the working people, and ensure the unity of ideological-political, labor, and moral indoctrination.

These are today's requirements, and of course it is on the basis of these requirements that we must transform the political and economic training of cadres on all levels in the basic links.

Under conditions of intensive industrial and agricultural development and continuous enhancement of the scientific potential and the cultural level, the demands placed on cadres of all profiles and categories are increased. The party committees' responsibility for the correct selection and indoctrination of cadres is also increased accordingly. How big this responsibility



is can be seen clearly in the following data. The raykom's nomenklature numbers 400 positions. The constituent links of this nomenklature are constantly in motion: There is an ongoing process of personnel transfer characterized by the cadres' qualification indicators. For example, at the beginning of the Ninth Five-Year Plan 63 percent of the nomenklature personnel had a higher or a partial higher education; now this indicator stands at more than 80 percent.

The raykom is handling the cadre reorganization process in a responsible manner, promoting to posts of leadership and responsibility those promising comrades who are able to keep up with the time, who know and make practical use of modern methods of economic management. But without constant concern for creating reserves of promising and resourceful personnel it is impossible to carry out such a policy.

In our rayon, the leading sector of the economy is agriculture. Hence, the local party and Soviet bodies' special concern is to supply the sovkhozes with highly qualified specialists.

Life in Dmanisskiy Rayon presents a clear picture of the changes that have taken place in the villages since the March 1965 CPSU CC plenum and the 25th CPSU Congress and the 25th GCP Congress. Our sovkhozes' material-technical base is stronger, their energy ratio is higher, and their modern machinery fleet is bigger.

Per hectare grain crop yields and purchase have almost doubled in the 10th Five-Year Plan compared with the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Now we are annually delivering to the state 2,300 tons of high-quality grain. This made it possible for us to overfulfill targets of the first three years of the current five-year plan and sell to the state 2,700 tons of wheat above the plan.

Our cattle, sheep, and hog herds have grown substantially. In 3.5 years we sold the state 780 tons of meat and 2,105 tons of milk above the plan.

The quality indicators of our farm products have also improved substantially, especially meat. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the rayon's sovkhozes have earned an additional 1.5 million rubles just from the delivery of top-condition animals and heavy-weight young stock.

The successes achieved by the rayon's working people have come about, on the one hand, because our party and government are constantly concerned for the development of socialist agriculture and for improving the material well being of farm workers and, on the other hand, because of the raykom's improved organizational and ideological-political work, the higher quality of political leadership in all spheres of agriculture, the implementation of Leninist principles of cadre selection, indoctrination, and placement, and concern for higher personal responsibility and commitment on the part of cadres on all levels with respect to their jobs.

In this regard, the raykom is paying special attention to work with farm specialists in order to raise their qualifications and role.

V. I. Lenin advised us "to study men and seek out competent workers." Guided by this advice in our work with farm specialists, we are looking for promotable cadres in production, where we directly study their political and businesslike qualities and try to pick out and correctly determine in what section and in what post the worker will best and most completely manifest his talent and abilities.

In the correct implementation of cadre policy a vital role is assigned to the primary party organizations. In the selection, indoctrination, and placement of farm specialists, therefore, the raykom relies on the party organizations and takes account of their opinion concerning a particular worker. This is only logical, because it is the worker collectives, where the party organizations are directly involved, that ensure implementation of the party's policy with regard to cadres and the successful resolution of the tasks of economic and cultural development. It is in the worker collective that the individual's particular qualities are manifested, and it is to the worker collective that a man owes responsibility for his actions and behavior, it is in the collective that public opinion about a man is formed.

It should be noted that in this regard we demand of the party organizations that they express their opinions not only on the raykom's cadre policy as a whole but also on each worker, that they help the administration in the correct selection and placement of cadres, that they act boldly in recommending promising and knowledgeable young specialists, that they strengthen control over the correctness and substantiation of the administration's decisions, and that they implement effective measures to promptly correct any mistakes made in the selection of local cadres.

As a result of this approach, the rayon has extensively established the practice of promoting rank and file party members to posts of leadership on the basis of the party organization's recommendation. For example, on the recommendation of the general meetings of the primary party organizations of the Dmanisi and the Sadzha village Azerbaijani secondary schools comrades N. Dilbazov and E. Aliyev, who proved to be talented organizers of the educational indoctrinational process, were elected party bureau secretaries. The worker collective's trust in him was justified by rank and file agronomist O. Dzhincharashvili, whom we first placed in charge of the Vardisubani Sovkhoz party organization and then promoted to the directorship of that sovkhoz. And we were not mistaken. Under Comrade Dzhincharashvili's leadership the sovkhoz's labor collective successfully completed the procurement and storage of haylage and silage, harvested the crops in good time, and delivered to the state 950 tons of grain instead of the planned 380 tons.

On the recommendation of the collective of the rayon Selkhoztekhnik we promoted Comrade Sh. Okriashvili to the directorship of the local industry combine because he had earned the love and respect of his colleagues with

his principled attitude toward the common cause and his responsiveness to people. The combine successfully completed its 1978 targets, and as of 1 August 1979 had fulfilled its year's production output plan by 132.4 percent. This means that instead of the planned 1.32 million rubles of output the combine produced 1.63 million rubles.

Real life shows that if personnel are chosen on the basis of their political, business, and moral qualities, if cadre reserves exist in fact and not just on paper, and if the party committee keeps track of the workers' growth, guiding it wisely and tactfully and taking account of the workers' talent and the collective's and social organizations' opinion about them, this practice always yields positive results. The result of this practice is that today most of our rayon's sovkhos officials and key specialists are politically mature and professionally well-trained comrades having a higher education.

It is also worth noting that along with higher educational qualifications the prestige of party members in posts of leadership has also risen, the specialists' sphere of influence has broadened, and they are playing a bigger role in the adoption of scientific advances and progressive practices and in organizational efforts to resolve the economic tasks facing the worker collectives. A clear example of this can be seen in the successes achieved by the workers of the formerly lagging Vardisubani and Gantiadi sovkhoses. Last economic year these sovkhoses completed the current five-year plan's plan of grain sales to the state. And the Egrisi Sovkhoz completed the plan of meat sales to the state in 3.5 years.

Many comrades in posts of leadership and key specialists are widely known and respected in the rayon, including Gomareti Sovkhoz Director V. Chalidze, winner of the Orders of Lenin and the October Revolution. The sovkhos Comrade Chalidze heads has been many times a winner in socialist competition; last year the Gomareti feed procurement workers were winners in republic socialist competition. Widely respected as highly-qualified specialists are Vardisubani Sovkhoz Chief Agronomist G. Faremuzov and the same sovkhos's crew leader I. Aslaniants, who increased the daily weight gain of cattle to 720 grams and the average delivery weight of young stock to 350 kilograms. We have many such workers now. With their dedicated labor and their broad organizational efforts they are making a worthy contribution to the rayon's economic development and the timely and high-quality fulfillment of state plans.

At present the raykom is doing considerable integrated work to strengthen the cadres' ideological integrity and high moral qualities, to enhance their political maturity and professional mastery, and to improve the style and methods of work with cadres on all levels. Reliable guidelines in these efforts are the decisions of the July 1978 CPSU CC Plenum, the decrees of the GCP CC, the directives of CPSU CC General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and the CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers decree "Improvement of Planning and Strengthening of

the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Raising Production Effectiveness and Work Quality."

Now every party organization is concerned to improve planning and strengthen the influence of the economic mechanism on raising production effectiveness and work quality. Naturally, our urgent practical task is to teach cadres how to improve planning work, rationally coordinate long-range and current plans of sector and territorial development, and perfect intersector and intrasector proportions, to help them ensure a balanced economic course. Our job is to ensure the active participation of the production associations and worker collectives, their leadership personnel and key specialists, and every working man in drawing up five-year and yearly plans, also the exercise of effective control by the party organizations over their fulfillment. Most importantly, we must look for specific ways and means to implement the measures stipulated in this timely CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers decree.

In recent years the main concern of the republic party organization has been the correct and rational use of middle-link specialists. Efforts along these lines in our party organization became especially active after the raykom buro and open party meetings discussed the CPSU CC decree "The Rostovskaya Obkom's Work to Supply Agriculture with Middle-Link Cadres, Machinery Operators, and Other Mass-Profession Workers." In accordance with this decree we drew up a plan of action and set up machinery operators' schools to train the necessary numbers of machinery operators for the rayon. In addition, we set up and the raykom buro approved a schedule for manning the various departments and field and livestock crews with middle-link specialists--qualified farm personnel. We carried out certification testing of middle-link management personnel and found out that many representatives of this link, especially practitioners [praktiki], were not up to today's standards in terms of qualifications and were therefore released from their posts and transferred to appropriate jobs.

These measures also revealed that the work of some party organizations is not yet up to the necessary level. There are party organizations in the rayon that are not doing enough to help the administration in cadre selection and placement and are showing no initiative in the adoption of experience accumulated along these lines in the republic. This is why some party organizations in the rayon are not doing enough to strengthen socialist discipline, which is a powerful lever in resolving economic and political tasks; they are not making effective use of criticism and self-criticism, and they are exercising the necessary control over cadre work, with the result that some officials have lost their sense of responsibility, are violating party and state discipline, and are not struggling against private-ownership tendencies, protectionism, and other negative phenomena.

Consider, for example, Vake, Gantiadi, and Egrisi sovkhozes. Their boards of directors and party committees are not working diligently enough with middle-link specialists; they are not properly concerned for manning this

link with highly-qualified cadres; they are reconciled to the fact that crews, farm sections, and departments are being managed by practitioners who are behind the times, who cannot do their job, and who fail to complete state plans and socialist obligations year after year. Yet there are plenty of young qualified cadres in every region of the rayon.

We are also disturbed by the fact that the executive committees of the local Soviets of People's Deputies have failed to alter their cadre policies; they are not doing adequate work with young people, they are not providing young specialists with normal working and leisure conditions, and they are little concerned for their professional training, which accounts for the high cadre turnover.

This indicates that the raykom has failed to enhance the combativeness of all party organizations and has failed to make the experience of the best the norm for all basic links.

Unfortunately, so far the raykom and its departments have failed to effect fundamental improvement in cadre policy. In our work we still see instances of the formalistic approach to candidates for promotion, with the result that frequently we have to replace cadres. In the past two years, for example, we have replaced three chief veterinarians on Kirov Livestock Sovkhoz. As a result of mistakes in cadre policy, an apathetic director was placed in charge of the state pedigree livestock farm. As a result, labor discipline declined badly in recent years, cattle productivity went down, and the farm failed to carry out its direct assignment--that of supplying the farms with Grey Caucasian calves.

The Dmanisskiy Raykom analyzed the mistakes made in cadre policy and mapped out concrete measures to correct them. In order to improve cadre work, cadre selection and placement, in order to generalize and adopt experience gained in this regard, we set up a rayon headquarters staff made up of party, soviet, and social organization representatives and public education workers. The staff has already drawn up recommendations for improving the style and methods of cadre work.

The raykom discusses problems of further improving cadre work in dialectical relation to other problems of essential strengthening of party, state and labor discipline, the development of intra-party democracy, strengthened control over implementation of decrees, increased personal responsibility on the part of leadership cadres in all links of the economy, and party development.

Now our rayon party organization is preparing for the forthcoming GCP CC Plenum. The party members of Dmanisskiy Rayon believe that this plenum will discuss the fundamental problems of work with cadres from a scientific standpoint and map out concrete ways to improve cadre selections, indoctrination, and placement and thereby greatly help us to successfully resolve the tasks facing us.

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